

THE
JOURNAL OF
EDUCATIONAL
SOCIOLOGY

23

1949-1950

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Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Inc.
KRAUS REPRINT CORPORATION
New York
1966

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Printed in the United States of America

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol. 23

September 1949

No. 1

EDITORIAL

Teacher-Training: Retrospect and Prospect

With the September number, the JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY will begin its twenty-third year of publication. It was originally designed as a magazine of "theory and practice" in the then newly developing field of Educational Sociology. At the time of its projection, the educational world was saturated with the individual physiological psychology approach to education. The curriculum was content and child centered.

Since that time there has been a growing recognition of the role of group life, culture, and community in human behavior. Instinct psychology has gone "by the board." IQ's have ceased to be the Alpha and Omega of education. Many evidences are being manifest that education is shifting its emphasis from the child centered to the school which is community centered. While IQ and performance tests still have their place, the emphasis has shifted from psychometrics to socio-metrics and *group* dynamics. While subject matter mastery is still needed, the dynamic of education is now on total personality development.

The JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY has had a major role in the development of that change. From the beginning, Sociologists have contended that behavior was

more a matter of culture than of psychological factors, the mores were more of a determinant of human behavior than the S-R. It is now becoming clear that group leadership is by far more necessary in teacher competency than understanding the laws of learning

II

The fore-going developments indicate, in this writer's opinion, that the battle over the "nature of human nature" has been won. The big problems in teacher training today relate to how to translate the insights gained from these developments into teacher competency.

There is a real sense in which we stand today on the threshold of advances in group life, and understanding of the group process, at about the same place where educators stood at the beginning of this century with regard to individual human nature. At that time William James was writing concerning the psychological principles of learning. Intelligence testing was in its infancy. Thorndike was soon to develop his performance tests. These developments failed to free human beings sufficiently for them to make their maximum contributions. Teachers in some schools are able to mouth all the clichés of democracy yet divide up on a faith basis to eat their lunches. Social scientists report that the snootiest of all social institutions in the average American community is the high school. While we are using posters on brotherhood, observing Negro history week, Brotherhood week, and developing units on tolerance, we are still "gerrymandering" school districts to send Negro children to all-Negro schools and white children to all-white schools.

III

It is obvious that a new approach to teacher training has to be developed. Here, of course, we run into the vested interests of education. Every department and every subject

field has its followers who believe they have the panacea for ills which beset education. Our authors, Kolodny and Isaacs, in this number of the JOURNAL condemn, in a scathing article, the teacher training institutions for the development of so many "education" courses, and the duplication of courses covering the same subject matter. Their panacea, however, is as devastating as the malady, in this writer's opinion. If there is one thing which should be clear it is that subject matter *mastery alone does not make teacher competency*. Teachers must obviously have scholarship. There is no guarantee, however, that "scholarly teachers" are any better educational leaders than the unscholarly ones.

Does not the whole of teacher training need to be rethought? Instead of scholarship versus "teacher training" do we not need to think of teacher competencies in the light of changing demands of the society? What are these competencies? Obviously scholarship is one. Research competency, group leadership, an understanding of human nature, community organization, skills in human relations, and evaluation abilities are a few of the others.

This discussion is sufficient to indicate that teacher training is in for considerable re-examination if education is to be made a vital force in our society. The question is whether educational leadership can meet that challenge. If this magazine can contribute to that re-focusing of educational direction in the next few years as it has contributed to the previous changes mentioned above, it will have more than served its purpose.

Dan W. Dodson

TEACHER-TRAINING: THE ACHILLES HEEL OF EDUCATION

Jules Kolodny and William Isaacs

I

Professional educators need not be told that education is in an unhealthy state of affairs in the United States today. The crisis, if it may be called such, is not due to any alarming degeneration of our educational system; schools today are probably vastly superior, in an all around sense, to those of fifty years ago. The alarm arises from the very great and apparent discrepancy between promise and performance — between what education can do and what education is doing.

Many educators are inclined to blame this state of affairs on inadequate school appropriations. Penny-pinching budgets, no doubt, add to the difficulties. Schools cannot be properly administered on a shoe-string purse. Low salary schedules tend to attract the meek and the less competent. Community and administrative efforts to regulate the private lives of teachers, subjecting them to indignities not heaped upon others, surely alienate the more-spirited elements away from the teaching profession. The absence of a "sound recruiting program for future teachers" undoubtedly contributes to the failure of education to educate. But even if these serious shortcomings and grievances were remedied, the educational gap between possibility and achievement would still be great.

Although it may seem like an educational truism, what we still consider basic to the entire educational problem is the need for intellectual, scholarly and pedagogic competence on the part of the classroom teacher. We do not think his present training adequately meets that need. We believe that Dr. Paul Klapper, president-emeritus of Queens Col-

lege, stressed this very point in his analysis of the problem ("First, Teach the Teachers.") But we are not at all certain that his sound approach is that of many professional educators, to whom securing better teachers simply means requiring of prospective teachers more courses in principles and methods of education. This point of view which flourishes in most State Teachers Colleges and in many Schools of Education can be explained largely as a reaction to inferior teaching — past and present — and to inadequate teacher training in many of the Liberal Arts and Science colleges throughout the country. In these colleges, students are very often exposed to teachers who are primarily scholars and research experts; they can't teach, resent the need to do so, and regard their classroom work as a necessary evil to maintain their academic standing. It should come as no surprise to learn that, under the circumstances, students find the educative process no less painful than do the professors themselves. In a recent survey of Brooklyn College teachers, made by the Department of Sociology of Rutgers University, students rated their teachers high in knowledge of subject matter, but low in ability to stimulate thought. One student minced no words in describing a full professor: "He sure knows his stuff, but he's a lousy teacher."

Although academic standards are generally high in Liberal Arts and Science colleges, many prospective teachers get little training in pedagogy. They go forth, model their own teaching after that of their instructors, and sin as they were sinned against.

The moment the need for a "science" of education was recognized, many educators elevated their calling to a profession. Whether from vanity, conviction, vested interest — any or all — professors of Education developed the same attitude of indispensability and importance towards education as all specialists — the sociologists, the social worker, the psychiatrist — adopt towards their calling.

Although no educational courses had existed for generations and generations, professional educators introduced them by the tens and hundreds. The result has been an endless duplication and overlapping with this unhappy consequence: students are surfeited with pedagogy at the expense of scholarship and intellectual training; whereas in the past prospective teachers were abysmally ignorant of the elements of sound teaching, they are now more expert at knowing how to teach, but insufficiently prepared for what they are supposed to teach.

Our criticism of Teachers Colleges and Schools of Education are essentially these: (1) Too much time is devoted to professional courses at the expense of the Liberal Arts and Sciences. (2) There is an endless duplication and overlapping of courses.

State Teachers Colleges, which are hang-overs of the old Normal Schools, are especially guilty of these practices. Although they have improved considerably over the years, many are still wedded to an extremely narrow conception of teacher training.

New York State Teachers College, at Albany, which prepares students for secondary school teaching requires only 18 units of professional educational training out of a total of 124 for the bachelor's degree. This, however, is clearly an exception. In its 1947 survey, the *New York Times* indicated that, in most teachers' colleges, about half of the courses are professional — that is, about half of the students' time is taken up with matters pertaining to education.

This phenomenal growth of education in state colleges is even more effectively revealed by the composition of their faculties. At State Teachers' College, Cortland, New York, there are 5 instructors in Social Studies, 5 in English, 1 in Mathematics, and 16 in Education. At State Teachers College, Brockton, New York, there are 5 in Social Studies, 7 in English, 1 in Mathematics and 17 in Education. These

cases are not exceptions; they are a fair cross section of Teachers Colleges throughout the country. If anything, students in New York State Teachers Colleges fare better than those in other states. Courses given in New York more nearly tend to approach those offered in the Liberal Arts Colleges.

In Schools of Education conducted by universities, the situation is somewhat better. Although the prescribed number of educational courses is less than half the total number taken, many of the liberal arts and science courses are tied in with education but are not considered education courses. One may ponder how mathematics for teachers, social studies for teachers, and French literature for teachers differ from similar studies for students who do not intend to teach. Courses in American literature are taught "with special emphasis upon those authors whose productions are used in elementary and high schools." A course in French literature is described as emphasizing "the teaching of the various types of reading generally presented in secondary schools." These are not the study of literature on a college level so much as reviews of elementary and high school reading lists. In the process of relating liberal arts and science courses to education, it is abundantly clear that content courses are watered down. Prospective teachers are thus exposed to even more education and less liberal arts and science than college records indicate. In order to permit students to take more professional courses, a minimum of content courses is offered. So, for example, one leading university expects students to be equipped to teach economics on the basis of a total offering of four courses of the principles and problem type.

Along with the expansion of education courses has gone another parallel development, the growth of many new departments. Many Schools of Education now boast of a Department of Safety Education, Department of Visual

Aid, Department of Guidance, and so on. It may be argued that these are important educational matters. Doubtlessly they are. But why Departments? Why not simply basic courses? To us, all of this seems to be another case of over-expansion — of *spreading the butter thin to make it go farther*. Thus do Schools of Education and Teachers Colleges become enmeshed in a network of wheels within wheels.

Frequently education courses are built up by invoking "science" and "philosophy" without warrant. *Science of Cooking* and a *Foundations of a Philosophy of American Recreation* are examples of this tendency. Such pretensions are not only misleading, but are inimical to the best interests of science and philosophy. How can students be expected to grasp the nature of science and philosophy when colleges themselves help foster misconceptions?

Overlapping of courses cannot always be avoided. In the liberal arts and science colleges, advanced courses inevitably cover some of the ground already gone over in elementary courses. This is also true in Schools of Education. Much of this duplication could probably be eliminated by more careful planning and programming. However, it is still true that one is not likely to find the same degree of duplication in Schools of Law, Medicine and Graduate Faculties of Liberal Arts and Sciences as in Schools of Education, particularly in graduate studies.

Here is a partial list of courses offered under *Administration* in the catalogue of one School of Education. How much genuine need is there for so many of them?

- Administration of the School
- Administration and the Teacher
- Advanced Research in School Administration
- Workshop. Problems and Practices in Administration
- Apprenticeship in School Administration
- Principles of School Administration

Organization and Administration of the Elementary School
Major Course in Administration of the Elementary School
Administration of the Junior High School
Democratic Administration of the High School
Organization and Management of the High School
Faculty Participation in High School Administration
Administrative Practices of the Small High School
Principles of High School Administration
Administration of the Secondary School

Limitations of space do not permit similar analyses of the courses given in physical education, vocational education, business education, and other fields, where the same duplication exists. Scrutiny of School of Education bulletins will bear out our contention that the practice is widespread. From the extensive manner in which physical education and home arts have been expanded at the expense of the sciences, for example, one might conclude that it is far easier to become an atomic physicist than a teacher of cooking or a health education instructor. All of this seems to add up to an artificial expansion of a few basic educational ideas which are endlessly repeated — jargon, texts, and bibliographies — *ad nauseam*. If they do contain greater value than seems apparent, — and we frankly doubt it — the courses should be drastically reworked to eliminate their repetitive aspects.

It has been argued that many of the shortcomings we have pointed out are due to the rapid development of education as a special field of inquiry. We are inclined to doubt the validity of this explanation. American educators have given their serious attention to education and its problems for at least fifty years. One can scarcely characterize the developments of half a century as a mushroom growth.

How do prospective teachers feel about the endless multiplicity of educational courses? Some have never thought about it, others accept their bondage as do all people who

find themselves unable to escape from an unpleasant set-up. But a large number have been articulate. They frankly find many "Ed" courses fruitless, distasteful, boring, deadening. If student experience means anything, because of the duplication, repetition, overlapping, the point of diminishing returns very soon sets in. Here are a few typical student comments: "Learned trivia." "Much ado about nothing." "Froth without beer." "A complete waste of time." "The most boring part of college."

This reaction is not typical simply of the undergraduates, but also of teachers themselves who are required to take graduate courses in education for promotions, salary increases, contract renewals, and the like. They too, have very little praise for these studies. Nevertheless they have no choice because Boards of Education, Superintendents and Examiners are still sold on the magic wrought by highly specialized educational courses.

This tendency to devote more time to educational courses — methods of teaching minutiae — seems to be growing. It requires little insight and imagination to realize that this intensive study by more and more teachers of smaller and more insignificant areas of Education will not produce clear-thinking minds or scholarly competence. College catalogues will grow fatter, educational faculties will expand, more and more degrees will be conferred, but prospective teachers will be none the better for all this pedagogic inpouring. In our opinion, educational courses have clearly expanded beyond their capacity to present new, worthwhile material to teachers and prospective teachers. The inevitable paradox has been that we have better pedagogues but poorer teachers.

Schools of Education are not only schools of education; they are also business enterprises characterized by large-scale organization and shrewd management. "Nothing so strikes the foreign observer with surprise as the size and

power of American Collegiate Administration," declares Professor Jacques Baizun "The best offices in the best building, the rows and rows of filing cabinets, the serried ranks of secretaries and stenographers make the European feel that he has wandered by mistake into the annex of some large business concern."

If education is big business, it should come as no surprise to learn that the payment of fees becomes a substitute for learning. One leading institution, for example, grants three credits for two-credit course, provided students pay the additional fee and submit one extra report. Such practices also prevail in connection with the granting of Masters' and Doctors' Degrees by Schools of Education. Students who do not wish to write a Master's thesis can solve their problem by taking four extra credits of work. Doctoral candidates who are also allergic to scholarly thesis writing can earn a degree in Education instead of the more traditional Ph.D. simply by taking twelve extra credits, and submitting what university bulletins describe as "documents." Perhaps students, who are more in pursuit of degrees than learning, are to blame in a large measure for this condition. But it is the Schools of Education, in the last analysis, which make this possible.

Another very revealing phase of the "higher learning in America" is the research done in its Schools of Education for higher degrees. A brief analysis readily discloses that much of the "research" is on a level which could be carried on by alert and competent high school students; many areas of learning are not worth studying, many of the conclusions reached were obvious at the very outset.

Here are some of the theses reported in a United States Department of Education Bulletin. How much research was necessary to establish such obvious conclusions as these:

Thesis: An analysis of the relation of auditory and visual defects to school achievements. *Conclusion:* They are related (University of Georgia)

Thesis: What college freshmen in Arizona know about library usage. *Conclusion:* Students need instruction in all phases of library usage (Arizona State Teachers College)

Thesis: The nutritive value of dietaries available to students of the University of Tennessee Cafeteria. *Conclusion:* The diet is adequate or inadequate depending upon the individual's choice of food (University of Tennessee)

Thesis: A study of factors attending boys' failure to finish high school. *Conclusion:* School mortality results from economic conditions, attitude towards school, health, parental status, lack of interest in school. (Texas Teachers College)

Thesis: The effect of fatigue upon handwriting. *Conclusion:* Fatigue causes illegibility in handwriting (University of Iowa)

Or, to look at another group of research projects, how valuable are such studies as these.

The Development of a housekeeping routine for a dormitory housing 225 men. (University of Ohio)

A study of the mathematics vocabulary in six consecutive issues of the *Readers Digest* (University of Michigan)

An investigation of the scientific vocabulary appearing in five issues of *Harpers*. (University of Michigan)

An anecdote related by Flexner, relevant to research projects, is worth repeating. After examining a thesis, "An analysis of janitor service in elementary schools", Flexner subsequently questioned a professor of School Administration whether the duties of an elementary school janitor were really different from those of a high school or college janitor "Oh, yes," the latter replied, "the lavatory problem, for example, is with small boys quite different from the same problem at the high school level!"

Fantastic, indeed, are such theses, which, if not typical, at least occur with sufficient regularity to be found in printed theses lists. The joke would clearly be a good one

if the fools weren't our very own. The candidates who in all seriousness make these studies (to say nothing of those who approve of them) become teachers, principals, heads of departments, school superintendents, professors of education, and even members of state educational commissions! How much talent and insight can they bring to their jobs if such is the type of training they have received?

II

It would be unfair to imply that professional educators do not recognize the inadequacy of teacher training. At its 1948 convention, the *National Education Association* "pledged a vigorous, all-out campaign to raise the standards of public school education throughout the United States." Dr. Charles W. Hunt, President of the New York State Teachers College, declared at the initial meeting of the newly-formed *American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education*, "The education of our teachers is the biggest single problem of our time." The 1947-48 Bulletin of Teachers College, Columbia University, explicitly states, "Standards for teachers were seriously lowered during the war." This fact is recognized by all in the teaching profession. Wartime influences are still felt in our schools, particularly in the teacher shortage. Now is the time to raise standards to pre-war levels and to resume the process of gradual refinement and improvement.

On this question, moreover, educators do not stand alone. Even the parents of third grade pupils want to raise standards. The real issue is how are standards to be raised? As we have already indicated, to most educators in contemporary Schools of Education — and their opinions carry the greatest weight because they train most of the prospective teachers — the answers still tend to stress pedagogy and related fields.

We are very much inclined to doubt the wisdom of this

approach. Professional educators have rightly insisted that teachers must know how to teach. But in their endeavor to correct one evil (the appalling ignorance of fundamentals of pedagogy by many teachers), professors of education have succumbed to another (the overexpansion of professional educational training). As a result of this latter emphasis, educators have produced a more pedagogic-minded group of teachers. But increasing pedagogic requirements does not necessarily mean raising standards. Are learned pedagogues necessarily better teachers?

We are firmly convinced that many prospective teachers who are trained in Liberal Arts and Science colleges are very often miserably prepared in teaching techniques. They should be given basic courses in educational philosophy, psychology and methodology, integrated with their general education, to overcome this deficiency, and to make their teaching more valuable to their students and more self-satisfying to themselves. A program of apprentice teaching should also be inaugurated.

As far as Schools of Education are concerned, we believe that educational reform involves a greater stress upon general culture, liberal arts and science, and fewer and better educational courses. The essentials of teaching can be taught in fewer, basic courses, beyond which the point of diminishing returns quickly set in. The expenditure of *further study on additional courses which attempt to reduce the areas to which pedagogic principles are applied* — teaching English in the Ninth year, teaching history in the Seventh grade — is not commensurate with the results.

As Dr. Klapper, who advocates a five year integrated course of study — four for liberal arts and one for professional training — has observed, "The teacher should receive a broad liberalizing education in which the emphasis on the humanities, the social sciences, and the physical sciences is compatible with his personal interests and

social needs. General education is as eclectic as life itself and is a necessary preparation for specialized or professional education."

It is difficult to say to what extent the evils we have criticized are indigenous to education or arise from the misconceptions of educators. Conceivably education may deserve the same serious study which is given to medicine, law, and engineering. If so, educators have scarcely established this, especially if judged by the courses offered in graduate schools. However, since it is no easy task to understand the behavior pattern of young children and adolescents, an intensive study of psychology and mental hygiene might perhaps be made the basis of a worthwhile graduate school of education.

Finally, the entire thesis concept needs re-evaluation. Although *all* research is not valueless, the notion that research *per se* is desirable should be discarded. As we have already indicated, many Schools of Education set their students to work on nonsensical educational projects. The card index, the footnote and the bibliography are poor substitutes for reflective thinking and the play of ideas. Research can be desirable if directed at enlarging students' understanding of fundamental theories and problems, and developing power of critical thinking and careful formulation of thoughts and ideas. But the kind of thesis-writing we have discussed seems utterly senseless. Nothing of value comes from counting words in *Readers Digest* — neither to the investigator nor to anybody else. The plumbing needs of schools should be matters of concern to engineers and architects, not educators. There is still a place for significant theses as well as significant courses. However, time wasted on useless projects might better be devoted by the thesis writer to clarifying for himself, by first hand reading and analysis, fundamental educational concepts and controversies. The only apparent (but not real) loss would

be the inability of universities to point with pride to the thousands of educational projects — useless to be sure — completed under their auspices.

One way *not* to deal with the problem of inadequate teacher-training is that suggested some time ago in *School and Society* by William W. Brickman, Professor of Education. Since Ph D.'s are being turned out in ever increasing numbers, "the situation cries out for reform" "The only solution lies in the direction of still higher education," he declares. "The time has arrived to revise standards upward, and to require a super-doctor's degree of aspirants for academic honors." A serious effort is obviously being made here to enmesh teachers (and others) in a higher type of what William James called the *Ph.D. Octopus*. The best answer to this dubious proposal is given by the Editor of *Clearing House*, who, tongue in cheek, asks. "Why not call it Doctor-Uber-Doctor (DUD)?"

When the Liberal Arts and Science colleges devote a little more time to orientating prospective teachers in pedagogic fundamentals, and Schools of Education spend very much more time in producing critically-minded teachers, between the two, a generation of teachers may be produced who will help close the wide gap between promise and performance in American education. What we need is neither teachers nor scholars, but "*scholarly teachers*."

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DEVELOPMENT AND STATUS OF SOCIOLOGY IN NEGRO COLLEGES

Joseph Sandy Himes Jr.

American Beginnings.

Sociology, as a separate discipline, bearing the name sociology first appeared in the curricula of American colleges and universities during the third and fourth quarters of the last century. Of this early grounding in the American academic curriculum, House writes. "As we have previously noted, sociology has sometimes been referred to in Europe as the 'American science'. This illusion has probably been provoked by the fact that the subject is nowhere else so well established in colleges and universities as it is in this country."

Discussing the origins of the discipline, House says further: "... sociology gained some recognition in the United States as a distinct science or discipline before it was recognized in any college or university as a subject of sufficient importance to be represented by a chair or instructorship. The publication of Spencer's *The Study of Sociology* in 1872 and of Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* in 1883 served to date the beginnings of that extra-academic recognition, while the first university chair to be created with sociology designated by title as part of the professor's teaching responsibility was probably that established at the University of Indiana in 1885, when Arthur B. Woodford became 'professor of economics and sociology'. It appears from the catalogue of the university, however, that Woodford actually offered only one course in sociology, whereas one such course had been given in each of a number of other American colleges and universities several

¹ Floyd N. House, *Development of Sociology*, McGraw-Hill, New York 1936, p. 244

years earlier."² Sociology seems to have emerged as a separate discipline through a process of metamorphosis as a split and refinement of the earlier subjects of history and moral philosophy. Describing the process, Bernard writes: "Thus sociology made its entrance into the educational institutions of the South, as in the North through the four avenues of moral philosophy, the philosophy of history, 'Social Science', and sociology proper."³

Beginnings in Negro Colleges.

Negro colleges do not seem to be numbered among the earliest pioneers who introduced sociology into the college and university curricula. These schools, however, began to emphasize the subject before and just after the turn of the century. "In 1894, Morgan college . . . of Baltimore added a course of eight lectures on Social Science, but the contents are not indicated."⁴ "Atlanta University, Hope College, West Virginia University, and the Woman's College of Maryland introduced the subject in 1897."⁵ The introduction of sociology into Atlanta University curriculum was doubtless associated with the coming of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois to the faculty of that institution in 1897. Writing of the further development of sociology in Southern institutions, Bernard says: "Leland University of New Orleans and Tulane University of the same city, and the University of Arkansas listed courses in 1901. Hampton Institute of Virginia and Millsaps College had courses in 1902."⁶

Data on the early development of sociology in Negro institutions are fragmentary. Yet we can fit the pieces to-

² Ibid, p. 245.

³ L. L. Bernard, "Historic Pattern of Sociology in the South", *Social Forces*, Vol. 16, p. 10, Oct., 1937.

⁴ L. L. and Jessie Bernard, *Origins of American Sociology*, Thomas Y. Crowell, New York, 1943, p. 662.

⁵ L. L. Bernard, "Sociological Trends in the South", *Social Forces*, Vol. 27, p. 14, Oct., 1948.

⁶ Ibid, p. 14.

gether into a pattern of growing importance of the subject in the college and university curricula. Bernard reports that in 1911 Walden University of Nashville, Tennessee, listed at least one course in the subject. Bishop and Rust Colleges and Fisk University all listed courses in sociology as early as 1915, the last institution having a fairly well developed department at that date. In the same report Bernard lists 17 Negro colleges and universities with courses in sociology. This list includes Benedict, Claflin, Jackson, Alcorn, Morehouse, Morris Brown, Roger Williams, Paine, Scotia, Shaw, St. Augustine's, Talladega, Virginia Normal and Industrial, Virginia Union, and Wiley.⁷ That is, by 1916-17 sociology had been introduced into the curricula of at least 23 Negro institutions.

During these years several other developments were taking place. In 1899, shortly after joining the faculty of Atlanta University, W. E. B. DuBois published a lengthy survey of Negroes in Philadelphia under the title *The Philadelphia Negro*. This was perhaps the first serious sociological study of a Negro group undertaken by an American Negro scholar and published in the United States. DuBois envisaged *The Philadelphia Negro* as the first in a comprehensive series of sociological studies of both urban and rural Negroes. Of this plan, he wrote "It is my earnest desire to pursue this particular form of study far enough to constitute a fair basis of induction as to the present condition of the American Negro. If, for instance, Boston in the East, Chicago and perhaps Kansas City in the West, and Atlanta, New Orleans, and Galveston in the South, were studied in a similar way, we should have a trustworthy picture of Negro city life. Add to this inquiry

⁷ L. Bernard, "The Teaching of Sociology in Southern Colleges and Universities", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, from Tables 1 and 2, pp. 496-504, 1917-18.

into similar selected country districts, and certainly our knowledge of the Negro would be greatly increased."⁸

In this period many departments of sociology engaged in useful extra-classroom activities. Describing one such case, Bernard wrote in his 1917 report: "At Paine College . . . teachers and students engage in local survey work and exhibit the same to mixed audiences . . ."⁹ Many of the early sociology courses in Negro colleges carried field work requirements. When DuBois joined the Atlanta University faculty in 1897, he took over direction of the annual conferences on racial problems. Under his direction, the celebrated Atlanta University series of studies of Negro life was published. Speaking of the aims of this series, Dr DuBois wrote as follows: "A study of human life today involves a consideration of human physique and the conditions of physical life, a study of various social organizations, beginning with the home, and investigation into occupations, education, religion and morality, crime and political activity. The Atlanta Cycle of studies into the Negro problem aims at exhaustive and periodic studies of all these subjects as far as they relate to Negro Americans."¹⁰ Between 1896 and 1917 twenty monographs comprising more than 2,000 pages were published. The series includes the following publications:

- Morality Among Negroes in Cities*, 1896
- Social and Physical Conditions of Negroes in Cities*, 1897
- Some Efforts of Negroes for Self Betterment*, 1898
- The Negro in Business*, 1899
- The College Bred Negro*, 1900
- The Negro Common School*, 1901
- The Negro Artisan*, 1902

⁸ W. E. B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, Publication of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1899, p. iv

⁹ L. L. Bernard, "The Teaching of Sociology in Southern Colleges and Universities", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, p. 510, 1917-18

¹⁰ W. E. B. DuBois, *The Health and Physique of the Negro American*, Atlanta University Press, Atlanta, 1906, p. 5

- The Negro Church*, 1903
Notes on Negro Crime, 1904
A Selected Bibliography of Negro Americans, 1905
Health and Physique of the Negro American, 1906
Economic Co-operation Among Negro Americans, 1907
The Negro American Family, 1908
Efforts for Social Betterment Among Negro Americans, 1909
The College Bred Negro American, 1910
The Common School and Negro Americans, 1911
The Negro American Artisan, 1912
Morals and Manners Among Negro Americans, 1914
Select Discussions of Race Problems, 1916
The Negroes of Georgia, 1917

In 1911 Monroe Nathan Work joined the staff of Tuskegee Institute as Director of the newly organized Bureau of Records. In the following year he inaugurated the publication of the *Negro Yearbook*. These volumes are among the major sociological sourcebooks on Negroes and race relations which have been published in the United States.

According to Professor Harry W. Greene, the first Negro to receive a Ph. D. in sociology specifically was James Robert Lincoln Diggs. He received his degree at Illinois Wesleyan University in 1906.¹¹ More important for our purpose, however, was George Edmund Haynes' receipt of the doctor's degree in sociology from Columbia University in 1912. Haynes' dissertation, which was entitled *The Negro at Work in New York City*, was a competent sociological study. Soon after receiving his degree, Dr. Haynes returned to his alma mater, Fisk University, to teach sociology and was probably responsible in a large measure for the early development of this institution's department of social sciences.

¹¹ Harry Washington Greene, *Holders of Doctorates Among American Negroes, 1876-1943*, Mcador Publishing Company, Boston, 1946, p. 561.

The early development of sociology in the Negro institutions of the Southern region reveals an interesting and significant paradox of the times. Discussing this whole situation, Bernard writes: "But as the known facts now stand [1948], it is apparent that sociology was first accepted by the smaller institutions of the South and by Negro colleges. The reason for the Negro interest is, I think, sufficiently evident in the fact that a minority group was trying honestly to understand the social situation in which it found itself."¹²

As late as 1916-17 the Negro institutions tended to give less emphasis to economics, political science and history than comparable white institutions. In the Negro institutions, however, only history outranked sociology in importance at that time. Indeed, although history received more attention than sociology in these institutions, its relative position was below that in comparable white institutions of the time. Bernard demonstrates quantitatively the influence of the Negro colleges and small institutions on the status of sociology, by analyzing course listings for 1916-17. "Taking sociology listings in all colleges as the base, economics had an index rating of 172, political science of 96, and history of 391, based on the number of courses listed. . . The fact that it [sociology] outranked political science is to be explained in part by the inclusion of several Negro and women's colleges in these statistics, both of which gave more attention to sociology than to political science or even economics."¹³ It seems safe to assert that at that time neither Negroes nor women had any large or significant stake in the political and economic life of the southern region. The study, therefore, of political science

¹² L. L. Bernard, "Sociological Trends in the South", *Social Forces*, Vol. 27, p. 14, Oct., 1948.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

and economics might have appeared somewhat superfluous to administrators of institutions for these groups.

Present Status of Sociology in Negro Institutions.

In the thirty years following Bernard's survey of 1916-17 sociology developed rapidly in all the nation's colleges and universities as well as in those especially for Negroes. As a consequence, today some courses in sociology are taught in perhaps every Negro institution in the country, and in several, important and even distinguished departments have been organized.

One way to measure the increasing importance of sociology in Negro institutions is to compare course listings in the four major social sciences in these institutions between widely separated dates. In his study of 1916-17, Bernard reports these listings in 18 Negro institutions.¹⁴ The writer made a similar analysis of course listings in 35 institutions for 1946-48. Included in the latter group were 20 privately supported and 15 tax-supported colleges and universities. If the number of courses in sociology listed at each date is taken as 100, comparisons with the other social sciences can be made by computing index numbers. These data are presented in the following table.

COURSE LISTINGS AND INDEX NUMBERS FOR THE FOUR MAJOR SOCIAL SCIENCES IN SELECTED NEGRO INSTITUTIONS, 1916-17, 1946-48

Social Science	1916-17		1946-48	
	Course	Index Number	Course	Index Number
Sociology	28	100	333	100
Economics	21	75	196	59
Political Science	6	21	177	53
History	55	196	304	94

By comparison with sociology, we note that the four social sciences have undergone significant changes during the

¹⁴L. I. Bernard "The Teaching of Sociology in Southern Colleges and Universities", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 23, Table III, p. 504.

thirty-year period Economics declined from three-fourths of the relative importance of sociology as measured by course listings at the earlier date to about three-fifths of this relative importance at the latter date. On the other hand, political science gained measurably in importance, from one-fifth of the rank of sociology at the earlier date, to slightly over half of the relative position of sociology at the latter date. Most striking, however, is the change in position of history. At the earlier date history was almost twice as important as sociology. At the latter date, however, history was less important than sociology as measured by the numbers of courses listed. That is, after thirty years sociology has emerged as the leading social science in the Negro institutions of higher learning.

Describing this mounting importance of the subject in all Southern institutions, Bernard wrote in 1937. "Within the last twenty years the progress of sociology in the South has been so rapid and so marked that it cannot even be summarized adequately here. There is now no higher educational institution where it does not have a place. At Virginia, Duke, North Carolina, Fisk, Vanderbilt, Louisiana State, Southern Methodist, and Texas there are departments of distinction, and in at least one of these institutions a department of the first rank for the country as a whole. At Virginia, North Carolina, Fisk, and perhaps at Louisiana State University, there are in operation research programs of a high order of merit and achievement. At North Carolina regional and cultural trends are being emphasized, at Virginia community and social problem trends, at Fisk racial problems, at Texas the ecological emphasis obtains, and everywhere — and especially in the state colleges — research in rural problems goes on apace."¹⁶

¹⁶ L. L. Bernard, "The Historic Pattern of Sociology in the South", *Social Forces*, Vol. 16, p. 12, Oct., 1937.

In reference to dynamic changes of the status of sociology in Southern college and university curricula, Bernard makes the following interesting conjecture. "Perhaps it would be somewhat premature to predict from these data that in another thirty years sociology will occupy the place of the leading social science in southern colleges and universities and that it will take a position in advance of history itself in an age in which current knowledge about society based on the analysis of universally representative data which may be employed for purposes of foresight may make a larger intellectual appeal than knowledge about the past which contributes chiefly to hindsight and emotional recall of past events.

"Perhaps the curriculum makers of Fisk, Hampton, and Tuskegee had something like this in mind when together they listed in 1947-48 a total of 59 courses in sociology, 33 in economics, 11 in political science, and 43 in history."¹⁶

This trend seems to have achieved its fullest expression in the program of Xavier University of New Orleans. Of this emphasis on sociology the departmental chairman writes. "The school accentuates sociology more than any other institution in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools territory. We look upon the subject as a preparation for community life in general, and as a basis of better interracial co-operation and understanding. We are making every effort possible to send young people into the community who are able to stand on their own feet, give a good account of themselves in their chosen fields, assume full civic and social responsibilities; and to be persons of whom the school, community, and general public can be proud. We feel that sociology is a major help in accomplishing this end."¹⁷

¹⁶ L. I. Bernard, "Sociological Trends in the South", *Social Forces*, Vol 27, p. 15, Oct., 1948.

¹⁷ From notes on a questionnaire received in November, 1948.

My investigations show that at present sociology is taught in every Negro collegiate institution in the country. The United States Office of Education Directory of Higher Education for 1947-48 lists a total of 101 Negro collegiate institutions. This list does not include professional and technical institutions, where sociology may not be taught. Of these 101 institutions, 71 are colleges and universities, 12 are teachers colleges and normal schools, and 18 are junior colleges. Recent reports from 56 of the 101 institutions reveal a total of 140 teachers. Of the total, 121 were employed in 45 colleges and universities, making an average of just under three teachers per institution. If this average holds true for the 71 colleges and universities, there are then at present 199 teachers of sociology in this class of Negro institutions. Seven of the 56 institutions reporting are teachers colleges and normal schools. These schools have a total of 13, or nearly two teachers per institution. If this ratio is true of the 12 teachers colleges and normal schools in the country, there are 23 additional teachers of sociology in these Negro institutions. Four of the 56 institutions are junior colleges. These schools reported a total of six teachers, or 1.5 per school. According to this ratio, there should be 27 teachers of sociology in the 18 junior colleges. In the aggregate these estimates amount to a grand total of 249 teachers of sociology in the country's 101 Negro institutions of higher learning.

Of the 140 teachers of sociology about whom reports were received, 44, or 31.4 per cent, have earned the doctor's degree. If this percentage holds true for the estimated group of 249 teachers, there are then 78 teachers of sociology with earned doctor's degrees in the Negro institutions of the nation. Obviously, none of these persons received their specialized training in Negro institutions, and most got their advanced training in Northern universities.

All these teachers are not Negroes. A considerable number of white teachers are employed in the Negro institutions. In some instances, white teachers in neighboring universities serve as part-time visiting professors in Negro colleges and graduate schools. Although no census of Negro sociologists with earned doctor's degrees has been taken, it seems highly improbable that there are 78 in the country at this time. In his study of Negroes who have received doctorates, Harry W. Greene reported that by 1943, 30 Negroes had earned doctor's degrees in sociology or social science.¹⁸ However, not all of these persons were at that time engaged in teaching sociology in Negro institutions. Greene reported that five Negroes had earned doctor's degrees in anthropology. At that time some of these persons were engaged in occupations other than teaching in Negro colleges. A considerable number of Negro students have received doctor's degrees in sociology since 1943, but the exact number is not known. On the basis of these fragmentary data one may venture the guess that hardly more than half of the 78 teachers of sociology in Negro institutions with earned doctor's degrees are Negroes. The remainder are white teachers or Negro teachers with doctorates in other fields.

Ninety-two of the 140 teachers of sociology about whom information was secured have master's degrees or additional training short of doctor's degrees. These teachers are 65 per cent of the 140 teachers. If this proportion is applicable to the estimated total of 249 teachers, there are 162 teachers of sociology in Negro institutions with master's degrees or additional training less than an earned doctorate. Although data on place of receiving advanced training was not obtained, doubtless most of these teachers secured their specialized training outside the Southern region where most of the Negro institutions are located.

¹⁸ Harry Washington Greene, *op cit*, pp. 44-47.

It was possible to secure information relative to distribution of working time and academic ranks for 133 of the 140 teachers covered in the investigation. Of these 133 teachers of sociology, 60, or 45 per cent devote full time to teaching sociology. Of the remainder, 23, or 17 per cent, divide their time between teaching sociology and research, and 50, or 38 per cent, engage in teaching and other academic non-research activities. If these proportions are true for the estimated total of 249 teachers of sociology in all Negro collegiate institutions of the country, there are then 111 full-time teachers of sociology, 42 who divide their time between teaching and research in sociology, and 96 who teach sociology part of their time and carry on other non-research academic duties.

The most striking implication of these data is the relatively small proportion of sociologists in Negro institutions who are freed in part from teaching and other academic routines in order to carry on research. It is not surprising, therefore, that teachers in these institutions have not generally distinguished themselves by contributions to the literature of sociology. The difficulty of the teacher of sociology in the Negro institution is further documented in the complaints of many informants that they are expected to carry on research while devoting full time to teaching and other academic duties.

Of the 133 teachers of sociology on whom data was secured, 44, or 33 per cent, were professors, 20, or 15 per cent, were associate professors, and 19, or 14 per cent were unranked. If we apply these percentages to the total estimated 249 teachers of sociology in Negro institutions, we get the following estimates: 83 professors, 37 associate professors, 35 assistant professors, 69 instructors, and 35 unranked teachers. Further examination of the questionnaires revealed general agreement between amount of training reported and academic rank. No information,

however, was obtained relative to experience, research, writing, and other factors which might enter into the determination of academic rank. In general, however, it appears that these teachers are well ranked.

The 56 reporting institutions listed in 1948 a total of 7,290 students enrolled in all sociology courses. This makes an average enrollment of 130 per institution. Assuming that this average is correct for the 101 Negro institutions of the country, there were then in 1948 a total of 13,130 students enrolled in sociology courses of all kinds in the country's Negro institutions.

In general, departments of sociology and curricula are more fully developed in the colleges and universities than in either the teachers colleges or junior colleges. This fact is evident from an analysis of the data received from the reporting institutions which offer majors and minors in the field. Forty-two colleges and universities reported on this topic. Of this number, 36, or 86 per cent, offer an undergraduate major in sociology. One institution reported offering only a minor in the field. Five, or 13 per cent, indicated that they offer neither a major nor a minor in sociology. These institutions, however, list courses in sociology which are taught regularly. If we project these proportions against the 71 Negro colleges and universities of the country, we observe that students may major in sociology in 58 of these institutions. Two of the 71 institutions offer only a minor in the field, and 11 offer neither a major nor a minor.

In the teachers colleges sociology is much less emphasized as a field of specialization. These institutions are devoted to teacher-training, and education is usually the major for all students. In the junior colleges students do not have time nor opportunity to begin either majors or minors.

A total of 54 institutions reported on the offering of

graduate courses in sociology. Of these, 13, or one fourth, reported offering graduate courses in the field. None of these institutions, however, offers any graduate work above the master's level. Although it is known that several of these institutions offer students the prospect of a master's degree with a major in sociology, all do not. Full information on this point was not secured.

In the present investigation no attempt was made to analyze sociology curricula in the Negro institutions. Informants were asked, however, to check on a list of twelve basic courses, the ones which were offered annually. The list includes: Principles, The Family, Social Pathology or Problems, Rural Sociology, Minority Problems, or Race Relations, Social Psychology, Research, Anthropology, Criminology, Theory, Urban Sociology, and Population Problems. None of the courses was offered annually by all the 53 institutions which reported on this topic. The answers were as follows: Principles, 50; The Family, 49; Social Pathology, 44; Rural Sociology, 35; Minority Problems, 35; Social Psychology, 33; Anthropology, 31; Social Research, 29; Criminology, 27; Theory, 25; Urban Sociology, 24; and Population Problems, 17.

These data show that the tendency is to offer regularly the general courses and those designed to aid rural students. They also indicate the wide appeal and usefulness of the basic courses and serve to remind us that the Negro college still has its roots in the rural Southern setting. The courses offered least often are specialized, and are doubtless intended for majors and minors and for students who plan to live or work in urban communities. The informants listed many other courses which are offered with more or less frequency in the reporting institutions. Most often listed was Educational Sociology — a fact which reminds us that the Negro collegiate institution is still in a large measure a teacher-training agency.

The continuing growth of sociology in the Negro institutions is evidenced in many other ways. Negro sociologists have made some important contributions to the literature of the field, especially in the areas of race relations. In addition to what is being done at Fisk University, already mentioned, growing research centers are being developed at Howard University and Atlanta University. The teachers in Negro institutions participate in the work and serve on the programs and working committees of the national and regional professional associations. During 1945-46 President Charles S. Johnson, then Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at Fisk University, served as President of the Southern Sociological Society. Professor E. Franklin Frazier, Chairman of the Sociology Department at Howard University, was President of the American Sociological Society in 1948.

However auspicious the beginnings of sociology in Negro institutions may have been, and despite the phenomenal growth of the subject in these institutions, both teachers and departments are still confronted with serious problems and handicaps. This situation is, of course, not unique with the Negro institutions, but it is probably more serious in them than anywhere else. In a significant commentary on this situation, Bernard concluded: "Apparently the heads of the South's most distinguished departments of Sociology are more often than not imported from abroad. It is, however, encouraging to note that the heads of the two most active and productive departments of sociology in the South are southern born, although not southern trained. . . . One of these heads is in a white State university and the other is in a Negro university supported primarily by northern funds. . . ."

"Great departments of sociology cannot be built without adequate funds with which to finance research, to draw the ablest sociologists to plan and execute sociological pro-

grams, and to train the future teachers of sociology in the region. Most prospective teachers of sociology in the South have gone north for their specialized training; and this has been true of almost all the Negro teachers, thus drawing off a large part of the potential graduate clientele of southern departments of sociology Only a handful of southern sociologists have that freedom from teaching and paper reading and administrative drudgery which would enable them to compete nationally in research production and publication, and these men almost without exception are given their freedom by the national government or by northern foundations"¹⁰

Despite these handicaps, the prospects of sociology in the Negro institutions of higher learning appear promising, and the subject may be expected to occupy a more important place in the curricula of these institutions. The training and competence of teachers will continue to grow with the increasing academic significance of the field. Student enrollment and specialization may also be expected to keep pace with increasing emphasis on the subject. We may, therefore, look forward to the day when sociology will occupy in the Negro colleges and in Negro social life in general the place predicted by Bernard. Current trends also give reason to expect greater production by Negro sociological scholars and fuller participation by them in the profession as a whole. Thus Negro teachers and students may be expected to make increasingly significant contributions to the development of sociology in America.

¹⁰ L. L. Bernard, "Sociological Trends in the South", *Social Forces*, Vol 27, p. 18, 1948

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THE EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF MINNESOTA RURAL YOUTH *

William H. Dreier and Burton W. Kreitlow

Farming, always hard work, has become a complicated business, involving high-powered tools, expensive hybrid seed, purebred livestock, parity prices, income tax forms and labor saving gadgets for the home. In spite of this, the 1940 census reported the average native Minnesota farmer had attended school for only 7.9 years — or until he was approximately fourteen years old. What are the indications that future farmers in this state will have more than an eighth grade education? In what ways are family status, size of farm, parental education and vocational plans associated with the anticipated education of rural young people?

The educational plans of rural youth attending school in grades seven through twelve in four Minnesota counties were studied to answer these questions. The counties selected represented four major farming areas of the state and the Midwest. One county was located in the Minnesota south-central dairy and livestock area, the second was in the northern cut-over area bordering Wisconsin; the third was in the southwest livestock and cash grain area bordering Iowa and the fourth was in the Red River Valley next to North Dakota.

Nineteen, or 73.1 per cent of all the graded schools in the four counties participated in the study. Information was collected on a two-page questionnaire from 2,622 seventh to twelfth grade students.

Major factors considered as possibly influencing the edu-

*The problem here reported was stimulated by a discussion with Dr. Clifford P. Archer, University of Minnesota, and the analysis was made under his supervision.

cational plans of these Minnesota rural youth are: family status and size of farm, home and family influence, distance from school, and vocational plans and personal reactions of the student.

Influence of Farm Status and Size

The educational plans of the children of farm owners and farm renters were compared. It was found that a larger share of the renters' children plan to quit school with the eighth grade. Of the seventh and eighth grade boys, 20 per cent of the renters' and 12 per cent of the owners' sons said they would quit school with the eighth grade. Sixteen per cent of the renters' daughters and three per cent of the land owners' daughters said they would drop out of school at the completion of the eighth grade.

Among the children of farm owners and renters attending high school there was little difference in reported educational plans. There was, however, a difference between the plans of boys and girls. Of the high school students whose fathers were owners and renters, 18 and 17 per cent of the boys planned for education beyond high school compared with 24 and 21 per cent of the girls.

The boys and girls from farms of different sizes who anticipated education beyond high school is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
SIZE OF FARM AND PERCENTAGE OF BOYS AND GIRLS
PLANNING FOR EDUCATION BEYOND HIGH SCHOOL

	Size of Farm				
	Under 80 Acres	81 to 160 Acres	161 to 240 Acres	241 to 320 Acres	Over 321 Acres
Boys					
Number	168	208	94	48	60
Per Cent	34	33	31	18	44
Girls					
Number	185	179	85	39	33
Per Cent	66	67	59	72	78

Only 18 per cent of the boys who lived on 241 to 320 acre farms planned for an education beyond high school.

About one-third of the boys from farms of less than 240 acres planned to go beyond high school compared with 44 per cent of those who lived on farms larger than 320 acres. Of the girls living on 161 to 240 acre farms, 59 per cent planned for post high high education compared with 66 per cent of those living on farms smaller than 160 acres and 78 per cent from farms over 320 acres in size.

If the farms were a quarter section or less or over half a section in size, more of the young men and women in this study planned for an education beyond high school.

Influence of the Home and Family

The influence of the family size on school attendance was noted by Ekstrom in a study of eighth grade students of rural ungraded schools in two Minnesota counties. He found the average number of children per family where the eighth-grader did not continue in school was 5.3 and 6.5.¹

The present study found boys and girls with two or less siblings had more extensive educational plans than children from larger families. With rare exceptions the increase in numbers of brothers and sisters meant that fewer would plan for a college education.

A few seventh and eighth grade boys who planned to end their schooling with the eighth grade had no brothers or sisters. Seven per cent of the boys who were only children planned to complete school with their eighth grade graduation and 51 per cent planned for education beyond high school. Four per cent of the boys who had seven or more brothers and sisters planned to quit at eighth grade, and 14 per cent stated they would go to school beyond the twelfth grade.

The children tended to plan for more education than their parents had achieved. When neither parent had attended

¹ Ekstrom, George F., "Education of Farm Boys and Girls in Minnesota", *The Visitor*, 33, January, 1946.

high school, the largest share of both boys and girls planned to attend some special school — such as trade, business or beauty culture — after graduation from high school. If the parents had not attended college, 25 per cent of the boys indicated they would attend college. If the parents had some college work, 65 per cent of the boys anticipated college.

Three hundred of the students in the survey reported their parents were foreign born. The educational plans of this group seemed to be the same as those whose parents were native born. The number of parents born in the same foreign country was too small to make any comparison of nationality and educational plans.

Distance from School

Many activities of the school have a part in determining the attendance and future educational plans of rural youth. This study attempted to check the influence of distance from school on present and future educational plans.

The proportion of boys planning to attend college decreased as the distance from school increased. As the distance from school increased from less than one mile to fifteen miles, the proportion of boys planning for college decreased from 40 to 12 per cent.

Distance from high school also discouraged many girls from anticipating additional education. Eleven per cent of the girls who lived fifteen miles from high school planned for education after high school compared with 41 per cent who lived less than a mile from their high school.

Two per cent of the boys who lived less than a mile from school said they would quit at the eighth grade, while six per cent who lived more than twelve miles away planned to quit with that grade. Less than two per cent of all the girls said they would finish only the eighth grade, regardless of the distance they lived from the school.

Vocational Plans and Personal Factors

The vocational plans of rural students and their personal reactions to school were revealed by this study in three ways. First the boys and girls were asked to fill in the blank in this sentence "I plan to be a when I grow up." Second they were given a list of reasons and asked to check or write in any which might prevent them from graduating from high school. Finally the students were asked to check the three most important reasons they had for attending or planning to attend high school.

Vocational Plans of Rural Youth

There was little difference between the vocational choices made by town and farm girls. The farm girls whose fathers were renters or owners also tended to choose the same vocations. Table 2 lists the nine most popular choices and the percentages of girls in each group selecting that vocation.

TABLE 2
VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF 7th THROUGH 12th GRADE
RURAL GIRLS FROM FOUR MINNESOTA COUNTIES

<i>Number of Replies</i> <i>Vocation</i>	<i>Rural Farm</i> <i>Owner</i>	<i>Rural Farm</i> <i>Renter</i>	<i>Rural</i> <i>Non-Farm</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
	538	145	618	1301
	<i>Percentages</i>			
1 Secretary	24.3	28.3	23.3	24.3
2 Nurse	18.4	15.2	18.0	17.8
3 Teacher	12.8	13.8	13.9	13.5
4 Beauty Operator	5.6	10.3	5.7	6.2
5 Housewife	3.3	2.8	1.5	2.4
6 Artist	1.7	.7	1.9	1.7
7 Musician	1.1	.7	1.6	1.3
8 Doctor	.6	.7	1.7	1.2
9 Nun or Missionary	.4	1.4	1.5	1.0
Other choices	9.2	2.8	10.4	9.1
No choice	22.5	23.4	20.6	21.7

About one-fourth of all the girls wanted to become secretaries. A little over a fifth of them named no vocational choice. Nursing and teaching were the only two other choices that were generally named by more than ten per

cent of the girls. Ten per cent of the daughters of farm renters, however, indicated they wanted to be beauty operators. This vocation was also the fourth most popular choice of other rural girls and was selected in about six per cent of the cases.

The boys named a wider range of occupations than did the girls. The interests of non-farm boys were quite different from those of the farm youth of their age. Farm boys from the rented farms tended to name farming as their chief vocational choice more often than did the other farm boys. The farm boys stated their vocational interests more often than did the rural non-farm boys. Table 3 lists the eleven most popular vocational choices and the proportion of boys who selected that choice.

TABLE 3
VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF 7th THROUGH 12th GRADE
RURAL BOYS FROM FOUR MINNESOTA COUNTIES

<i>Number of Replies</i> <i>Vocation</i>	<i>Rural Farm</i>		<i>Rural</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Renter</i>	<i>Non-farm</i>	
	502	123	534	1159
	<i>Percentages</i>			
1. Farmer	40.2	45.5	7.7	26.0
2. Mechanic	8.6	3.3	5.8	6.7
3. Engineer	3.6	2.4	10.3	6.5
4. Aviator	4.6	5.7	5.1	5.0
5. Teacher	2.2	1.6	3.5	2.8
6. Doctor	.6	0	3.6	2.0
7. Armed Services	2.0	3.3	1.8	2.0
8. Truck Driver	1.0	2.4	1.8	1.5
9. Carpenter	1.6	.8	1.8	1.5
10. Scientist	1.2	0	1.1	1.0
11. Forester	.6	0	.7	.6
Other choices	12.2	9.8	21.7	16.4
No choice	21.7	25.2	34.1	28.1

A few more than 40 per cent of all the farm boys wrote their vocational choice was farming. The most popular vocational choice of non-farm boys was engineering, selected by ten per cent. Between a fourth and a fifth of the farm boys gave no vocational choice and a third of the non-farm boys left this question blank.

The selection of a vocation is a personal matter that will in part determine the educational plans of the individual. A farm boy or girl who plans to be a doctor must prepare for college. The girl who wants to be a beauty operator, nurse or stenographer must train in a special school after graduation from high school. Other vocations may be followed with little or no education beyond eighth grade. The educational plans of rural youth who selected farming and homemaking are compared with those who listed no vocational choice in table 4.

TABLE 4
SOME VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF RURAL YOUTH AND
THEIR PLANS FOR VARIOUS LEVELS OF EDUCATION

<i>Vocational Choice</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Eighth Grade</i>	<i>High School</i>		<i>Special School</i>	<i>College</i>
			<i>2 yrs</i>	<i>4 yrs</i>		
BOYS	623	<i>P e r c e n t a g e s</i>				
No Vocational Choice						
Farm	140	2.9	1.4	71.4	9.3	14.9
Non-farm	184	5	5	62.5	8.7	27.7
Farmers						
Farm	258	6.6	5.4	71.4	14.7	1.9
Non-farm	41	7.3	4.9	58.6	19.5	9.8
GIRLS	313					
No Vocational Choice						
Farm	155	3.2	1.3	64.5	20.0	11.0
Non-farm	127	1.6	8	59.8	18.9	18.9
Housewife						
Farm	22	9.1	9.1	63.7	13.7	4.5
Non-farm	9	0	0	67.0	22.0	11.0

The vocational choices of rural youth in grades seven through twelve and their plans for various levels of education are combined in table 4. The proportion who plan to quit school before entering high school is therefore smaller than if the table were based only on seventh and eighth grade students.

Fifteen per cent of the farm boys who listed no vocational choice intend to go to college compared with 28 per cent of the non-farm boys. Seven out of ten farm boys who plan to be farmers or had no vocational choice indicated they would complete high school.

The educational plans of farm and non-farm girls who listed no vocational plans were similar. The largest share intend to graduate from high school, 20 per cent anticipated some special school while 11 and 19 per cent planned for college. Only a few girls named "housewife" as a vocation and two-thirds of these would end their education with high school while a number would quit school at the eighth grade.

Reasons For Not Completing High School

Slightly over half of the farm boys, a third of the non-farm boys, a third of the farm girls and a fifth of the non-farm girls in seventh and eighth grade checked reasons which might prevent them from graduating from high school.

The outstanding reason given by seventh and eighth grade farm boys and girls for not completing high school is, "I have to work at home." This statement was checked by 42 per cent of the farm boys and 25 per cent of the girls. This was also marked by 17 per cent of the non-farm girls.

Non-farm boys most frequently indicated "I am not a good student." Eighteen per cent gave that statement as a reason which might prevent them from completing high school. Another 15 per cent said, "I do not like the teachers." Almost as many, 14 per cent listed, "I have a job away from home" as a reason for not completing high school.

The farm girls' second most frequently selected reason was, "I am not a good student," checked by 12 per cent. The farm boys' second reason, selected by 12 per cent was, "I do not need more education for my vocation."

Reasons For Attending High School

Rural youth in high school were more in agreement when they selected three out of twelve reasons to explain why they expected to attend high school until graduation.

The first three reasons were: "It will train me for a job," "It will prepare me for further education", and "It will help me be a better citizen." Each of these reasons received about 20 per cent of the checks. Eleven per cent of both farm and non-farm boys gave their liking for sports as a reason for continuing in high school. Only one per cent of the girls considered sports an important reason for attending high school.

Conclusion

This group of seventh through twelfth grade rural youth attending graded schools in four different farming areas of Minnesota seem to plan for high school and college most often under the following circumstances: (1) parents are farm owners rather than renters, (2) the farm they live on is less than a quarter section or larger than a half section in size, (3) the parents have attended school beyond the elementary grades, (4) there are three or fewer children in the family, (5) they live only a few miles from high school and (6) their vocational choice has established educational requirements.

Rural girls in these nineteen schools most frequently planned to be secretaries, nurses and teachers. About one-fourth of the boys selected farming as their vocation. However, 22 per cent of the girls and 28 per cent of the boys list no vocational choice. Rural youth in this study said work at home, poor scholarship, their vocational choice and dislike for teachers would keep them from completing high school. Those in high school who planned to attend until graduation said the school would prepare them for future education, jobs and citizenship.

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TESTING STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

James M. Reinhardt

I

Sixty students in sociology at the University of Nebraska were invited to offer objections, if any, to prevailing methods of testing student achievement in the social sciences. Twenty-eight of the students were juniors and thirty-two were seniors. About eight per cent had transferred from other colleges during or before attaining junior standing. The students were also asked to suggest ways of improving the content of and methods of administering tests.

The first part of this paper comprises a summary report of the students' opinions and suggestions. The second part attempts to offer a brief evaluation of some types of tests in the light of assumed educational aims.

The students exhibited an almost universal rebellion against any and all kinds of tests. Some students said "We've been tested to death; — tested on everything, what we know, what we don't know, what we shouldn't know, what somebody thinks we should know, and on what nobody knows." Some of the specific criticisms were

(1) Too much emphasis on unimportant and unrememberable details. This objection bobbed up in one out of every three replies.

(2) Lack of uniformity in the methods of evaluation, and lack of consistency in the amount of emphasis given to a subject in examinations, e.g., the instructor may spend two class hours on race, and five on collective behavior. "When the examination comes around, however, the emphasis is as likely as not to be exactly reversed." "Sometimes," one student commented, "it is safer to disregard all

the subjects emphasized in the classroom; or perhaps to prepare for examinations in the reverse order of class emphasis."

(3) Too much emphasis on grades and not enough on learning. Too many tests of retentive powers and not enough of powers of creative thought. One student who criticized the lack of "creative" stimuli in the test conditions suggested that the simplicity and relative unimportance of the examination questions probably reflects the "level of thinking of the instructor."

(4) Too much importance attached to final examinations. Students commented that some good students are terror-stricken by the threat of failure that the final examinations hold over the student. Moreover, "a student may have had a bad night or a bad letter from a girl friend, or he may have failed to get the G.I. check." We recognize these unfavorable moments everywhere "except in the army and in final examinations."

(5) Time too short to allow for any constructive or critical thinking. Then the student added, "This is rarely necessary, however, since no one would suppose from these objective tests that education has anything to do with thinking." The objective types of tests came in for a lot of "ribbing." Example: (a) Made for the ease and comfort of the instructor, not to help or even to test the student. (b) Sociology is not a set and dried subject but a live and changing one, and "no examination calling for *yes* and *no* answers is worth a damn."

(6) "We are told that education should enhance the powers of thought. But too often examinations are like a trap, set with trick questions so that even the student who has learned to follow along the channels of the instructor gets caught." Everyone objected to the large classes. And the objection was particularly strong where the student had experienced the common final examination for all

course sections. A fairly significant comment on this point was "Each instructor rides his own pet hobby horses and these common examinations can do no more than strike averages at best."

(7) One student who was evidently on good terms with a reader reported that this particular reader graded most of his papers in a beer parlor. Here the first grades recorded tended to average low, but as the beer went down, the grades went up. There was general agreement, also, that friendship was an influential factor determining the grade. More than half the students, when later questioned, believed that *cribbing* was rather general in most universities, (some of these had had their introductory work in other universities), and the *cribbing* was believed to be the most demoralizing influence in the classroom.

(8) Here are some fairly representative student suggestions for the removal of examination evils. (1) Eliminate finals entirely. Some students suggested the substitution of comprehensive examinations in the general field at the end of the sophomore and the senior years. (2) Provide students with problems to work outside of class, later to be discussed in the class, or, if the class is too large to permit discussion, the papers might be graded.

There was some objection to the methods of reporting grades. A large proportion of students later questioned on the matter felt that "satisfactory and unsatisfactory" should be the only grades reported. One added, however, that so long as we have "primitive inducements such as Phi Beta Kappas, Sigma Xis and other awards, this fetish grading system must persist."

One student suggested that numerous working projects should be employed for achievement evaluation during the semester and that all the students with grades of 85 or above should be excused from the final examinations. This, it was pointed out, would be an inducement to students to

work hard. Another student tended to refute this position, however, by pointing out that the whole system of evaluating good teachers, administrative officers, and colleagues is "screwy and discourages reliable grading anyway." The teacher whose grades show fairly consistently good achievement "is regarded as a poor teacher," so in self-defense the teacher whose students do really make exceptional achievement must either devise a tricky examination so as to flunk the proper proportion of students or else drop down to such poor teaching that achievement for all but the deviates is impossible. It was suggested that the easiest and most natural course under such a system is to do poor teaching.

One young woman reflected an opinion offered by some one else that all freshmen be given examinations upon entering the university — any kind of examination. "The examination is merely a matter of form and is of no consequence for student evaluational purposes." "After showing the freshmen around the campus, giving them a chance to look over the football squad, the fraternity row, the athletic field, and the swimming pool, give them all a degree." "Then those who really want an education will remain; the others will go home."

It was also proposed that more life be put into examinations. "Examinations as now conducted are too dry, too un-interesting, and 'un-stimulating'." One student on this point suggested that we might take a leaf out of the book of Dr. I.Q. While we have no "Milky Way" or money prizes to offer for the best answers, the instructor could build up considerable interest by giving grade points, varying the number of points with the difficulty of the question. It was suggested that the situation could be dramatized advantageously by scattering a few proctors over the large classrooms to select students somewhat on the basis of ability to answer questions from the floor. For example,

the proctor would say, "I have a lady, professor." The instructor responds: "Three grade points for this one." Listen carefully and complete the following sentence. The anthropologist, Clark Whissler, says "Man is the only animal . . ." The student hesitates, fumbles and comes up with, "without a backbone." The instructor replies with a note of genuine disappointment: "I'm sorry, too bad, but give that student one point." Next, "I have a gentleman, professor." The professor: "Listen carefully, I am going to quote a famous statement which you are to refute. There are five possible refutations of this statement arranged in the order of effectiveness. I'm going to give five points for the best refutation." Then the instructor reads, "As the pressure of competition intensifies with social consolidation, the family regularly disintegrates, the children rejecting parental authority at a steadily decreasing age until finally the population fuses into a compact mass in which all individuals are equal before the law and all are forced to compete with each other for the means of "subsistence." The questions goes the rounds and some bright fellow calls out, "John Lewis." The instructor sings out, "Give that man five points."

II

I want to drop down here to a somewhat more serious vein. The kind of examination which is administered and the method employed depends primarily upon what the course is intended to give the student. There is a wide variation among sociology departments as to what should properly constitute the subject matter of an introductory course. This becomes clear to anyone who advises sociology majors, some of whom have had their introductory work in other institutions.

Students who come to us with advanced standing from other colleges and universities frequently have little knowledge as to what the introductory course in sociology is

about — no more than our own. They remember no more than two or three subjects covered in the course and these vary all the way from the liquor evil to problems of race and race relations. Enough information is available, however, to show significant variations in content and method. A considerable number of introductory courses include much material that ordinarily would be included in a social problems course or a course in social pathology. And much field work, sometimes of the sort that might be carried on in a *case work* course, is sometimes required.

From my point of view, the method of choosing the right answer and the right interpretation is generally as important as what is chosen in an introductory course. Accordingly, the examination should provide some opportunity for evaluating the student's ability to use reliable methods of choosing. Moreover, as Dr. Delbert Miller of the University of Minnesota pointed out some years ago in a paper before the American Sociological Society, inference statements, that is, statements of judgment and conclusions arrived at by indirect methods based upon previous experiences and judgments, constitute a better index to a high level of thinking than direct answers or arbitrary opinions.

Hence, since part of the aim of our examination is to evaluate students relative to levels of achievement in the capacity to think logically and creatively, it should include questions or statements that require the uses of logical inference. This kind of examination is difficult to prepare and administer where large classes, lack of adequate assistance, or teacher preference insists upon the so-called objective types of tests such as the *true or false*, the *completion* test, and the *multiple-choice* test. In fact, the necessity of making tests easy to grade could have considerable influence upon methods of teaching in some instances.

Hence, much introductory teaching may have relatively

little value to the student who takes no more sociology or whose advanced work in the field requires creative effort.

Where attempts are made to combine the kind of "book-learning" that lends itself easily to the objective type of test with efforts to develop an understanding of fundamental sociological principles and reasoning power, from a study of social realities, the major part of the examination is likely to be based upon the least important part of the course. If, for instance, the course instruction has involved considerable attention to the nature of *crisis*, the instructor will be able to find much live, pertinent material in the local community and in the newspapers and current journals for demonstrative and illustrative purposes. For instance, the contrasting reactions some time ago to the proposed appearances of the Negro Virtuoso, Paul Robeson, and the fascist sympathizer, Kristen Flagsted, illustrate a kind of material that provides opportunity for analysis of social forces, propaganda techniques, and perhaps an index clue to conditions of social change. But, such analysis would have to be evaluated on the basis of the merits of the study, since, except perhaps in a limited way by the use of the multiple-choice test, this kind of sociological investigation does not lend itself to the objective type of test.

Much material essential to a comprehensive introductory course in sociology is of the "excursion sort" which invites the student to launch out for all he is worth on a particular question. Here the problem of evaluating the result requires not only a great deal of time and a sense of fairness which is likely to suffer unconsciously under the prolonged influence of the *true-false* and *completion* tests, and perhaps the *multiple-choice* type of test as well.

If one must use the *objective* type of test, the multiple-choice is by all odds the best. If I may paraphrase Sir Francis Galton, it does permit the instructor to sink shafts

at a few critical points in order to obtain a general knowledge of the student. This is the method in tests designed to determine the individual's specific knowledge or capacity with respect to specific kinds of behavior. That, however, is not what I conceive to be the primary purpose of an introductory course in sociology.

An example of what I believe to be a weakness of the multiple-choice type of test is illustrated from an examiner's guide, "Some Principles of Examining, with Aids for Consulting Examiners," published by the University of Georgia Press in 1942. The illustration is given in the text for the purpose of demonstrating the superiority of the multiple-choice test. The student is required to check the correct statement. I quote:

The extent of industrial development, relatively considered, is regarded as partially indicative of the level of cultural development of a state. In respect to industry, Georgia of today, as compared to the rest of the states in the nation (1) occupies the same relative position as it did in 1860, (2) may properly be regarded as one of the ten leading states, (3) has made superior use of its mineral resources, (4) can never become highly industrialized, (5) occupies a median position among the states.

Now a creative classroom situation dealing with this kind of question should provide the student with an opportunity to question the validity of the major premise. The student might check the correct answer (1), and thus move toward honors convocation, without revealing any understanding of far more important sociological matters. Such, for instance, as factors affecting the relative rates and conditions of industrial development and the significance of such rates and causalities upon social structures.

It would be correct to reply here that such is not the purpose of this sort of examination, which brings us back to the original position that the test employed should depend upon the purpose of the course.

One educator expressed a preference for the objective type of examination because, as he said, "it is the only kind of test that can be graded fairly and consistently." Such a defense, it seems to me, overlooks a fundamental purpose in education. It may suggest also a weakness in the ways of thinking on the part of the instructor in the social sciences.

There is some evidence to show that one fairly simple easy method of drawing out the more capable students in a class is to require the students themselves to ask the questions on the subject matter of the course. On the basis of a limited experience, I have concluded that the better students will invariably ask more searching questions and will show less variation among themselves than the poorer students. The questions asked by the superior students, moreover, conform more closely to the instructor's pattern of values. In many instances, their questions will do what the instructor's questions often fail to do: they will tend to distribute the emphasis proportionately to the importance given to the various topics in the course.

The practice already suggested, of encouraging students to draw illustrative materials on their own from the local scene, can be followed all along through the entire semester. These may be supplemented by sociological questions derived from reading assignments for class discussion and criticism.

May I repeat that before any reliable examination can be provided, it is necessary to answer the question, "What is the course supposed to do for the student?"

From my point of view, an introductory course in sociology should give the student a familiarity with the nature of social life, its structures and its changes, and then intercausal conditions. I agree with McIver that wherever technological, religious, and economic subjects are treated, they should be treated as aspects of the larger social life

and never as isolated areas with peculiar characteristics sufficient unto themselves.

If an examination does no more than test the student's retention of specific facts, it is either a poor test or the student has had a poor course. It should test his grasp of sociological principles, and his capacity to employ sociological reasoning.

In conclusion, may I agree with a conclusion reported some time ago by President Robert M. Hutchins that the outstanding defect of our present educational system is that it is not concerned with the fundamental aims of human life. It is this that contributes to a sense of futility in so many students. The exact sciences have probably contributed at least two things to the student's evaluations and attitude toward the social sciences. In the first place the shadow of the atomic bomb has created a demand for some fundamentally reliable interpretations of the world of value, and in the second place, it has given increased impatience with unwarranted claims about the nature of man and his social products.

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MINORITY GROUP DISCRIMINATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

William M. Kephart

According to the 1940 Census approximately one per cent of the American Negroes had completed a four-year college course. Far from indicating a lower innate intellectual endowment than the Whites, this figure actually represents the difference in educational opportunity. (Approximately five and a half per cent of the American Whites completed college in 1940.)

Part of this disparity, of course, stems from the *mores* and laws in the Southern States where legalized educational segregation exists. The Fourteenth Amendment, guaranteeing freedom of educational opportunity, is circumvented by providing "separate and equal" education for Negro students. The "separate and equal" clause, as every sociologist knows, is largely mythical, which opinion the United States Supreme Court also shares (Witness the recent Oklahoma case.)

The President's Committee on Civil Rights in considering this question concluded that "The separate but equal doctrine stands convicted on three grounds. It contravenes the equalitarian spirit of the American heritage. It has failed to operate, for history shows that inequality of service has been the omnipresent consequence of separation. It has institutionalized segregation and kept groups apart despite indisputable evidence that normal contacts among these groups tend to promote social harmony."

For 1947, according to the President's Commission on Higher Education, Negroes in institutions of higher education accounted for approximately three per cent of the total, despite the fact that the Negroes represent about ten per cent of the total population in the United States. *Approximately 85 per cent of these enrolled Negroes were attending segregated institutions!*

A point that is sometimes overlooked in a discussion of educational opportunity for the Negro is the wide geographic variation in the income per child of school age by the various states. Census figures for 1946, for example, show that the income per school-age child in the State of California was \$9,029, while that for Mississippi was \$2,018.¹ Southern States occupy the last eleven positions when the State-income-per-child list is arranged in descending rank order. Furthermore, when one considers that in the "segregated" states the ratio of expenditures for the white institutions as over against those for the colored institutions is extremely one sided, the overall racial disparity becomes enormous. President Mordecai W. Johnson, President of Howard University, reports that the Negro-White expenditure ratio ranges 3 to 1 in Washington, D. C., to 42 to 1 in Kentucky!

More figures are available indicating not the income per school-age child but the actual amount of money spent per classroom per year by the individual states. Benjamin Fine has taken the figures and has constructed a striking monument as follows:

"If the American primary and secondary school system were a sixty-story skyscraper, on the top floor would be 20,000 New York school children receiving an education which costs \$6,000 per classroom a year. Sixty stories down would be 38,000 Negro children in schools of Arkansas, Georgia, and Tennessee, receiving financial support of less than \$100 per classroom. If a rocket bomb blew off twenty-eight stories of the skyscraper, not a single Negro child in the segregated school systems would be obliged to leave his classroom. If yet another bomb should blow away all the buildings except the four bottom floors, 99 per cent of the white children in the United States would have their schools destroyed, but over half of the Negro school children would be unaffected. At best they would have classrooms costing \$400 per year, with a teacher whose salary would be \$232 a year in Mississippi, or \$371 a year in South Carolina" (1)

¹ Benjamin Fine, *Our Children Are Cheated*, Holt, '47, p. 144

Space does not permit the many ramifications into educational inequality, but certainly the situation with regard to advanced degrees should be mentioned. In 1947 approximately 40,000 advanced degrees were granted in the United States, according to the U. S. Office of Education. Negro colleges granted 481 of these advanced degrees, all of which were masters. These Negro institutions do not grant the Ph. D.

In the unsegregated institutions, according to the same source and for the same year, 1947, 8 Ph. D.'s were granted to Negroes, as compared to some 3,775 for white students.

The medical school situation shows much the same picture. The aforementioned Commission of President Truman found that in 1946 some 5,826 physicians were graduated from 77 medical schools in the United States. Of this number only 154 were Negroes and all but twenty of these were graduated from the two Negro institutions, Howard University and Meharry Medical College.

The Commission further discovered that of the 77 medical schools in the nation only eighteen *actually* admit Negroes, although 55 "are presumably open to Negroes."

The wastage of manpower becomes obvious from the fact that Howard University Dental School had facilities for admitting only 50 students last year despite the fact that nearly 1,000 had applied!

Turning to the question of Jewish discrimination one can readily see a second large source of wasted skills, although precise figures have not been so attainable as in the case of the Negro.

However, in the Fall of 1946 the New York City Council authorized a full scale investigation on discriminatory practices in the city's higher educational system. The investigating committee was authorized to take testimony under oath. During the hearings the attempt was made to

procure the applications of both accepted and rejected applicants and compare them in an effort to determine whether rejection was in any way influenced by race or religion. However, the applications were not produced. The committee reports that "it is fair to assume that the colleges or institutions claiming that the accusations of discrimination were unjust would assiduously guard the records which would result in their exculpation."

Unable to procure a sample of accepted and rejected applications, the committee studied changes in the application forms themselves. The general findings were as follows. Before 1920 the application form called for the following information: name, age, place of birth, name of secondary school or college, scholastic record, and recommendations. Subsequently, the applications began to ask for religion and birthplace of parents. Finally a photograph was required.

Witnesses before the committee admitted that the latter questions were valueless when it came to determining the applicant's qualifications. The committee, therefore, came to the "inescapable conclusion" that these institutions were "extremely anxious . . . to ascertain the racial origins, religion, and color of the various applicants for a purpose other than judging their qualifications for admission."

It must be admitted that colleges and professional schools have a perfect right to request information regarding race, color, and creed. Such information might conceivably have significant statistical value. However, there is no reason why such information could not be obtained *after* the student has been accepted.

In view of the above evidence it will be no surprise that Jewish enrollment in the colleges and professional schools has dropped considerably in the past ten years. A survey made by the B'nai B'rith indicates that between 1935 and 1946 the proportion of Jewish law school students dropped from 25.8 to 11.1 per cent.

In the same eleven year period the proportion of Jewish students in engineering schools dropped from 6.5 to 5.6 per cent. In architecture, the Jewish proportion dropped from 8.15 to 4.4 per cent; in social work from 13.6 to 11.1; in commerce from 16.7 to 10.7 per cent, in fine arts from 15.5 to 8.4 per cent.

Interestingly the proportion of Jewish students in osteopathy rose from 9.1 to 20.3 per cent, due to the lessening of opportunity in the field of medicine. In the latter field B'nai B'rith reports that the proportion of Jewish students fell from 16.1 to 13.3. In dentistry, Jewish enrollment percentage dropped from 28.5 to 19.7.

Many educators rationalize the above situation by pointing out that if the Jews constitute three and a half per cent of the population, they should constitute only three and a half per cent of the college and professional school enrollment. Of course, on this basis the question might be raised as to how many of these educators admit ten per cent Negroes to their student bodies?

In reality, a society needs its best men in the professions, regardless of racial or religious affiliation. When quotas are set on skills and abilities the society itself suffers.

Unfortunately bias within a society is a deep-rooted phenomenon. There is no quick solution. Bias is self thriving and self perpetuating. In all history there has never been a "quick answer" as a solution. The President's Civil Rights Program is a step in the right direction, although how much of the program will become law is problematical. The Community College Plan, advocated by the President's Commission on Higher Education, is also a forward step, although the extent to which this proposed plan becomes federal policy is also problematical.

On the one hand it is gratifying that so many individuals are sincerely interested in the equality program. On the other hand it is regrettable that the tangible progress is so

small, and, at least in the case of the Jew, that social retrogression not social progress seems to be the present cultural pattern.

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UNDERSTANDING THE ADOLESCENT IN A GROUP SETTING *

Saul Scheidlinger

Few stages of personality development have been of greater concern to parents, teachers, group workers, psychologists, than that of adolescence. When asked why, many workers in the field point to the impulsive, unbalanced and unpredictable behaviour of the teen-ager, coming as it does so suddenly after a long period of relatively stable behaviour. Much has been written from every angle on the psychological, physical, emotional and social changes during adolescence. The content of this paper, accordingly, will be confined to a consideration of how adolescent needs can best be met within the *group* process.

To the adolescent, weakened by the inner turmoil caused by manifold emotional, physical and social forces, the group becomes a resource of strength. It offers support in his striving for independence from parental authority. The code of the group, as well as the values represented by the leader, become new standards of conduct (ego ideals). It is inevitable that the adult leader of an adolescent group should become the object of mixed feelings of love and

*Based on material presented at an Institute of the Massachusetts Conference of Social Work in November, 1948

hate. If he becomes overly identified with the distrusted parental authority the group members may turn away from him. In the words of Edith Buxbaum, "the uniting factor now is their hatred toward him, just as was their love for him before."¹ At such points of crisis it is desirable for the leader to permit the group members to air their critical and hostile feelings. Allying himself with their ego rather than with the imagined parental prohibitions, he thus permits the group to return to the basic positive relationship and identification with the adult.² The author has successfully applied a similar approach with adolescent groups in a progressive school. Through free and permissive group discussions with an adult in charge, the students could express criticism and resentment in relation to teachers or program of study with resultant insight and constructive planning for the future. It is not unusual for some adolescent groups to undergo constant swings from passivity to activity, from rebellion to submission. Generally, in group situations, negative feelings toward the leader can find expression with greater ease because of the support the members give each other against the fantasized retaliation by the adult. (father figure)

Belonging to a group frequently offers escape from the reactivated erotic stimulation afforded by the parental figures.³ At the same time, group association offers an opportunity for a partial expression of these impulses, through the sexually tinged attachments among the members, through sexy talk, exhibitionism, etc. There is also an op-

* In respect to identification, an important element in adolescents relates to their inability to establish any real and deep attachments (object relationship). In his undue preoccupation with himself the adolescent has little free emotional energy to give to others. His chosen objects such as adults or friends serve primarily as sources of support and strength. In this sense identification is used as a means of borrowing strength from the other person, thus modifying one's own anxiety and tensions.

** According to psychoanalytic findings the earlier conflicts of the so called oedipus complex are temporarily revived during early adolescence.

portunity for sublimation and release of tensions through physical and emotional forms of expression such as sports, music, dancing, art. In his relationship to the leader of the group, the male adolescent, for instance, can experience a very important step in his emotional development. He can learn that one can at times defy the father figure (or even temporarily take his place) without being destroyed. Similarly being passive and submissive in relation to the adult can be tried out without the accompanying threatening aspects. As the group code becomes a standard for behaviour and attitudes, reduction of guilt feelings can take place. The individual conscience becomes modified by the less severe conscience of the group. The trained worker or teacher in charge of an adolescent group is aware of these phenomena and consciously attempts to help in strengthening the teen-ager's desirable defenses and sublimations.

In an article entitled "Psychology of Gang Formation and the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents",² Fritz Redl discusses the difficulty involved in establishing a therapeutic relationship with delinquent adolescents who are members of gangs. In addition to the specific defenses of the individual, the therapist encounters what are termed "group psychological defenses." Being the representative of the hated "out group", the adult educator and therapist is frequently hampered in breaking through the strong defenses which spring from the gang association. The most successful approach in this respect lies in the adult's making himself indispensable in the psychological sense. This is accomplished most easily if he can make himself a part of the adolescent's group life. Then the permissive and supportive group climate helps in dissolving the earlier mentioned defenses against establishing relationships with those outside the gang.

If group work is viewed as an educational process aimed at fostering personality growth in addition to democratic

group attitudes, then the worker or teacher must understand the needs of the adolescent before he can be of service to him. This is a much more complicated task than working with children in the latency period, where the strong desire for group life is less inter-twined with psychological and emotional conflicts.

On a previous occasion this author has attempted to outline some of the general dynamic processes operating in most face-to-face groups.⁸ These would also hold true for institutions, clubs, or even classes. When a group is geared to satisfy the needs and interests of its members and is successful at least in part in accomplishing this, the individual children begin to feel increasingly secure and protected within the group setting. Inevitably varying degrees of affection develop toward most of the friendly adults. The psychological essence of the small group (cottage, club, class, etc.) can be found in the strong emotional ties (libidinal) of its members to the leader as well as to their peers. Wherever a set of predominantly positive relationships is established between an adult and a group of children, with some esprit de corps present, psychologically the leader comes to represent an ideal parent figure. Similarly, the quality of relationships among the members is that of siblings within an ideal family setting. This does not mean that there are no conflicts in such groups. As a matter of fact, rivalry and hostility are not only inevitable but also desirable as long as they do not disturb the underlying fundamental emotional climate of mutual acceptance and warmth. As is the case with a young child in the family, the inevitable feelings of rivalry for the leader's undivided attention and affection are usually resolved through the process of group identification. As stated by Freud in his "Group Psychology and Analysis of the Ego"⁹ it is as if the child says, "Since I can't have the father for myself only, I will see to it that no one else has him for his exclu-

sive possession." This feeling of joint possession of the leader strengthens the bond between members and increases the solidarity of the group. This is further enhanced by group symbolism, participation in successful activities, desire to out-do other groups, and all the other well-known processes which increase the cohesiveness of groups.

The strong emotional ties of an individual member to the leader and the group make for a desire to identify with the leader coupled with a willingness to curb those impulses which are egocentric and against the common interests. The group's approval as well as that of the person in charge, are major motivating forces for change and growth — which is also true in all spheres of education. It is not unlike the basic process involved in training the young child where the desire to retain the approval of the mother is stronger than the pleasure derived from continuing the unsatisfactory childish behaviour. In a group this process is enhanced because of the additional motivation stemming from the relationship with the other members.

We have noted that in a free and permissive group atmosphere, some relaxation of the individual's internalized controls can occur. This facilitates creative expression and the release of feelings and impulses so essential for personality growth. Individual or group education become undesirable from the psychological point of view when the individual is asked to repress all his emotions because they are "dangerous." According to Otto Fenichel,⁵ good education would emphasize control of impulses only in specific circumstances. Undue repression of all impulses at all times causes crippling inhibitions and conflicts.

It would seem that the above processes can be expected to operate in all groups of children depending on various factors — such as the degree of emotional disturbance encountered among the members, the balance of the group, the personality and attitudes of the leader and the like.

Such processes will operate in a haphazard fashion when not understood or channelized; when used purposefully they can open new vistas for real personality growth and lasting educational values. S. R. Slavson stated the following aims for good group education: a) 'To establish satisfying affective relationships with children and with adults. b) To provide ego satisfaction. c) To give expression to the creative-dynamic drives of the individual. d) To establish attitudes disposing the individual to social usefulness and group participation.'⁶

Our interest in general group behaviour and its special manifestations in adolescence must not preclude careful consideration of the individual. Especially is this true during the period of stress which is adolescence. There is danger of explaining deviant and symptomatic behaviour in terms of the expected manifestations of conflict typical of this age group. One must bear in mind that many psychoneuroses or even psychoses have their overt beginnings in adolescence. It is for this reason that it is particularly desirable for group work agencies or schools to have available the services of a specialist for consultation when necessary. In the field of social group work there has recently been developed an increasing tendency to use psychiatric social workers as part time or even full time staff members in this role of consultants.⁷

How about the adolescent who presents a behaviour problem directly in relation to the group? When do group needs take precedence over individual needs? Such questions cannot be answered categorically. In a group setting generally the interests of the group take precedence over those of the individual. When an individual's behaviour is such that it cannot be modified by group influences and has become threatening to the very existence of the group, that individual may then have to be removed. The point at which this should be undertaken depends on many factors: the

stability of the group, the skill and personality of the leader, the availability of special guidance. It is a fact that there are some persons who are simply not ready for a regular group experience. Some of these can be helped in overcoming their problems in individual treatment while continuing as part of the group. Others may have to be removed entirely for a time, to receive individual or group psychotherapy.

Given ideal facilities one would envisage the following procedure in dealing with an adolescent who presents serious problems in any type of group. The first step would call for an attempt at understanding the nature of the particular difficulties. This would involve the co-operation of a psychological specialist (psychiatrist, guidance counsellor, etc.) One of the important questions to examine is whether there is anything in the make-up of the given group which either has intensified the individual's problem or has even possibly been responsible in stimulating the given problem behaviour. Such an analysis of the given child's place in the total group setting calls for some understanding of group dynamics. Decisions have to be made as to whether the adolescent must be removed from the group or can be helped within its setting. The procedures undertaken then may involve the conscious use of group pressure or other group influences in dealing with the individual, and/or special attitudes and handling on the part of the leader.

This need for careful evaluation of the group as well as the individual cannot be over-emphasized. In many cases, disturbances in group functioning, which initially were thought due to personality problems, could actually be traced in part or completely to unfavorable group factors. These might range from a general dissatisfaction with the group's activities through various upsets in inter-personal relations or group structure to a faulty balance in the com-

position of the group. We must remember here that psychology has as yet not been able to provide us with as much understanding of group dynamics as of the individual.

Adults in charge of adolescent groups, whether in school settings or those of various social agencies, have a definite responsibility to meet the needs of the teen-agers under their care. Adolescent problems are to a great degree conditioned culturally and made particularly difficult in our age of flux. Despite this, a good deal can be accomplished through the planned utilization of group dynamics with an attitude of real understanding and respect for the struggling adolescent.

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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol 23

October 1949

No. 2

UNIVERSITY RESEARCH

AN EDITORIAL

One of the outstanding developments in higher education during the last decade has been the decline of the university as a research center. Corporations are finding it more desirable to establish their own research organizations than to "farm out" their work to the universities. Roper, Gallup, and others are finding it more convenient to set up separate organizations to do their work than to draw upon the universities. Government agencies have established their own research organizations to provide them with the information needed to direct their programs.

Why should this situation come to pass? More people are matriculating for the doctorate every year. Every graduate school is literally flooded with candidates for doctorates. Certainly the reason for the decline of the university as a research center is not to be found in the dearth of persons aspiring to do research.

In this writer's opinion the reason for the decline is not to be found in the lower quality of the candidates. In the New York University School of Education where the number of doctoral candidates is at an all time high, candidacy for the doctorate represents only fifty per cent of those who apply. The others are eliminated through the best prognostic tests we have been able to devise. Truly the decline has been due neither to decline in manpower nor to

the quality of those who apply for candidacy

Undoubtedly many factors contribute to the decline of status of the university as a research center. The changed meaning of the doctorate is, no doubt, one factor. The doctorate was conceived originally as a research degree, but as requirements for college teachers were raised, the doctorate became a qualification for teaching rather than a qualification for research positions, and the pressure was turned on the graduate schools to grant doctoral degrees to those who teach. Then too, research has become an element in the competitive process, hence most businesses of size find it profitable to do research to keep them ahead of their competitors. Many agencies, including those of government, are finding it increasingly profitable to engage in research to provide both a basis of programming and a scientific evaluation of what their programs are producing.

Aside from these factors, however, an honest assessment must be made of the failure of the institutions of higher learning to keep pace with the new demands in research which the social changes have introduced into our society. The Ph. D. degree was evolved at a time when research patterns were simple. Competencies in research were not too highly specialized. Research techniques were not so refined. Above all, it was rarely conceived that research should provide anything useful except in physical science.

Today the picture on the social scene has changed. There are few projects of consequence where the student can undertake alone the type of dissertation which will be significant. Even in the field of physical science, the development of the Atomic Bomb indicated the trend which research is taking. The Manhattan Project required the skills of thousands of people. Whether they had degrees or not did not matter. The competencies required related to ability to do research, and what was equally important, an ability to work with other people to accomplish the task which had to be done.

The contrast of this project to the research in the average university shows at once what the weaknesses are. In spite of the fact that more degrees are granted each year than ever before, we know less of what we ought to be doing in education, and know less about what we have done, when we have done it, than ever before. If one were to ask what direction has been given to education and social agencies in and around New York by all the research which has been done in the last ten years, one would be compelled to "write most of it off" as a loss.

What is perhaps worse is that by the time the candidate has gone through the "mill" of securing a doctorate, he has had ground out of him whatever intellectual curiosity he may ever have had. Why should this be?

Perhaps the time has come when we should expect that our institutions of higher learning should devote their research resources to the elevation of the social life of the community. Perhaps the atomistic, piecemeal, study done in isolation should be superseded by the evolvment of broad designs of research in which graduate students with varied capacities will pool their talents to do types of researches which will have real significance. When Myrdal undertook the *American Dilemma* study he secured the services of four or five outstanding research men to do differing aspects of the work. His responsibility was that of providing the design, administering the project, and writing a final report which would pull together their findings, and give interpretation to them. In some comparable fashion the universities must sponsor researches that will have greater significance than has happened in the past, if they are going to justify their continued existence as research centers.

In education the problem is particularly acute. Education is one of America's greatest enterprises, and we cannot afford to let research—one of its most important elements—lag in this era of rapid change

Dan W. Dodson

OUR RESPONSIBILITY IN GERMANY*

Ernest O. Melby

One goes to Germany worried about Germany, and one comes back worried about the United States.

We went to Germany under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation with the purpose of exploring the wisdom and practicality of reestablishing the American Work Student Exchange between Germany and the United States. From 1925 to 1933, 500 men graduates of colleges and universities in Germany were brought to the United States to work in American industry and on American farms. They stayed here two years and then went back to Germany to become a part of the social fabric there. About 200 of them died in concentration camps or in the war. Some of them are still living in Germany and on this trip we made contact with about ninety of these and talked with them individually. I talked to at least thirty in rather extended conversation. These men had acquired a most exceptional understanding of American life—a far different conception of America than is acquired by the people who come here to study in the universities—or to travel. There is a sharp difference in the understanding of America shown by the people who have worked in our American economy, lived in American homes, eaten American food, thought and worked with the American people and seen America from the standpoint of active participants in the American social and economic structure.

The former work students had organized our trip before we arrived. As a result we were able to visit a number of cities that included Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, Stuttgart, Bonn, Munich, Marburg, Heidelberg, Nuremberg, Essen,

* Editor's Note: This article was transcribed from an informal talk to members of the faculty of the School of Education of New York University after Dean Melby's return from a trip to Germany in April and May, 1949.

and Bochum. In each of these places we had not only one but several gatherings of local people. We talked to the burgomasters, to representatives of labor and industry, to former work students and to educational leaders. We had extended visits with the presidents of the universities of Heidelberg, Munich, Bonn, Göttingen and others. The military government helped to provide us with exceptional opportunities to know people in Germany, to talk to people who are working in the educational program and to see their attempts to solve their industrial, social, educational, and other reconstruction problems.

We lived in a sleeping car for the first five days. We had all our things in that car, and would go back to it in the evening, and during the night it would be hauled to another place. There were at times as many as forty people in our party, including Americans and Germans, former work students and educational leaders.

I think that the most overwhelming impression that is made on you in Germany is not the devastation of the bombing, although that is really terrific. Those of you who have seen it will, I am sure, agree with me that no picture, no movie, and no oral account of the bombing can give one an adequate impression of it. I must confess that it sickened me for a good deal of the time I was there. It wasn't until the last day I was there that I could go around and look at it without the feeling of near-nausea. The sight does something to you that you can't quite describe. The most overwhelming feeling you have while in Germany is the strategic place that Germany occupies in world affairs. Along with this you also become aware that you yourself have not given sufficient attention to Germany. Further reflection convinces you that the vast majority of the American people have made the same error. Viewing the situation in Germany as a whole, it dawns on you that in the last four years we in America have had one of the great opportunities of all time to strike an effective blow in defense of

democracy and freedom. Even after making all generous allowances, it must be admitted that we have largely thrown away this opportunity to go to the defense of democracy. We had a glorious chance to do something in the most strategic spot in all the world and what we did was of the too-little -and-too-late variety.

Many of you here know Dr. Alonzo Grace who is the present head of the Division of Education and Cultural Relations in Germany. He has now been on his job for a year and in that year he has almost performed miracles. A great deal has been accomplished. We have seen in Germany a wonderful testimony to the effectiveness of what we speak of as democratic leadership. The German people and educators are responding to that leadership in a most remarkable fashion. And if it could go on it would do wonderful things. Now there is a fear that as a result of the change-over from military to civilian control, this whole structure may topple. And the State Department may treat Germany just like it treats any other country and send one of the traditional educational and cultural relations staff to Germany. Such action would largely destroy the present program.

I referred to the strategic place that Germany occupies. You can't be over there very long without realizing that if Germany goes Communist and comes under the control of Russia, nothing can save the rest of Europe. I think that the chance of maintaining a free society in Europe if Germany goes totalitarian is so small that it is hardly worth thinking about. And by the same token if Germany can be kept free, the chance of keeping the whole continent free is immeasurably improved. I therefore believe that Germany is the most strategic single spot in the world today in the battle for freedom. There is no other place that is so important.

A lot can be said about the industrial picture. In the Ruhr, pig iron has already accumulated in great quantities

because there is no market for it, and steel production is now at the level of twelve million tons a year. This is a higher level than that allowed under the military regulations, and there will be curtailment in the balance of this year if we are to hold to the restrictions that have been set up. I saw one rolling mill being dismantled and an older one, a few hundred yards away, being refurbished. This was being done (according to the Germans) to give Germany a permanent reduction in steel production potentials in competition with England. It is perfectly clear that if the iron curtain stays down tight there will have to be curtailment. You can't blame the British if they are afraid of the competition because you can't keep the Ruhr going in the western zone alone.

I came away from this experience in Germany more convinced than ever that the notion that we can continue a permanent cold war between the East and the West isn't a practical thing. And more than that, it is no accident that the blockade is being lifted. I talked to at least five people who came over the border from the Eastern zone into the Western zone. They were intelligent men who had lived in America, had a pretty keen insight into world affairs, and were well-educated people of discernment. They said that the Russians were agreeing to lift the blockade because of the simple reason that they couldn't keep the thing going any longer. They just had their backs to the wall. I should be fair and say to you that there is always somebody sitting beside you who says, "Now don't believe any of these stories that come out of the Eastern zone." My own feeling is that those people are Communist-inspired. My impression is that conditions in the Eastern zone are bad. I think that the Russians knew that if they didn't lift the blockade very soon their whole system would be in such disrepute that their chance to spread it in Germany would be gone. It is common to hear, in the Western zone, that all you have to do to "cure" a Communist is to send him to the Eastern

zone for a few weeks. That may be an exaggeration, but there have been many instances of that kind. So I think that the lifting of the blockade came at a strategic time both for the East and for the West. Remember this isn't one-sided. I think the West needs the East too, but the East cannot be kept going as it was without contact with the West. And I came back with the feeling that probably the Russians are going to be more amenable to reason in the future than they have been, and that the outlook for peace is better than most of us believe it is here.

But let us not forget that in Germany today there is a great moral, spiritual and political vacuum. The average young German has little interest in political theory as such. He thinks all political parties futile. He thinks our political theory is just a set of high-sounding phrases. He thinks about the Russian theories. He was disillusioned with national socialism. Now he says, "Why should I believe in any political party?" The Germans in the main are disillusioned with the Church, regardless of whether it be Catholic, Lutheran, or Evangelical. I talked to Catholics and Protestants alike who were disappointed with the role played by their own respective churches in Germany. I don't think that you can do anything effective for Central Europe unless you can do something to fill in the spiritual and moral vacuum that exists there. You've got to give these people something in which to believe.

So we Americans presented the idea of democracy, and we said to the Germans, "This is what you should believe." The Germans can talk about democracy just as well as we can. The German educators who were making speeches to the German teachers sounded like they had been reading Dewey and Kilpatrick, and maybe they had. Their phraseology, their words, are just as good as ours. Yet they have little idea about what any of these things mean in action. You can't imagine how inexperienced these educators are when it comes to democratic procedures. The only thing

they do is lecture, and everybody looks up to them for answers. They don't know how to conduct a discussion meeting. A panel discussion is an utterly unheard of thing. Dr. Benjamin Fine and I tried at the conference at Chiemsee to organize a panel discussion at which I was supposed to be chairman. Even though we had had two planning sessions for it, it would end up as just a series of speeches. It is hard to imagine the poverty of democratic experience on the part of these German teachers.

All women's organizations in Germany were destroyed by Hitler except the YWCA. He just left a little skeleton of that. There are no channels in Germany today, through which women can exert any influence, except a few which have been revived under the American occupation. It is hard for any American to imagine the place of women in German society and their utter removal from any real participation in the affairs of the community.

It does little good to talk to the German people. It does no good to lecture them, absolutely no good. The only thing that will do any good in Germany is to sit down with the people and help them to plan some ways in which they can make their communities better places to live, and give them a real share in the doing of that thing.

I saw one thing going on in Germany that impressed me as being a democratic experience. Near Essen the workers in the steel industry are building their own houses. They have organized to secure the land, to do the planning and to do the building with their own hands. They have organized their communities on a democratic basis. This was a wonderful, cooperative venture in which each person shares in a creative endeavor, and gets the feel of being an active participant in a really democratic situation for the first time in his life. That is an example of the kind of thing that we will have to do if we are ever going to democratize Germany. Talking about theory does no good. They either accept the democratic theory without knowing what it

means or they refuse to accept it (in which case you get nowhere) or they are completely disinterested in the whole business and say "Show me what it means in reality"

More than that, democracy falters in the world today when it comes to getting the attention of the masses of people who don't quite know what they believe. These people look either to the East or to the West, to totalitarianism or to democracy. Democracy ought to appeal to the masses of people around the globe far more than any statism. But democracy is very much like the church in one respect. The Christian church has allowed itself to become a stereotype. It is something which has little vital relation to the ongoing life of people. It has become a theory. So with democracy. For millions of people around the globe, it is a beautiful, high sounding theory that doesn't mean anything in bread and butter, in education, in housing, in a better life for the people in a community. If you want democracy to spread around the globe; if you want to capture the minds and hearts of people who are deciding which way to look, you have got to put some teeth in it. And if the church wants to hold people, it has got to get a program of some sort, it cannot be a mere theory, some ethereal piece of mysticism removed from the realities of the everyday experiences of people.

I came back from this experience convinced that the thing that is wrong with education in Germany is the same thing that is wrong with our education here at home. We have the same problems, but in Germany you see them in all their stark nakedness. Teacher education with us is ineffective because it is made up largely of lecture courses. We lecture to people about democratic experience, about democratic leadership. We fill people with facts and we hope that somehow these facts are going to result in changed behavior. Then we go out and look at the teachers in the schools and we find that they behave very much as if they had not had education in democracy. We wonder why their

education has not been effective.

If you want to see how ineffective academic education is in influencing behavior just go to Germany. In the United States we criticize our students, we criticize our standards. We say our students do not learn as much as they should; that standards aren't as high as they should be. Perhaps German students are better than our fondest dreams. They know their history. They know their philosophy. They know their geography. They know all these things that we want our students to learn and more. And what is the result? Not a single forward step in the way of social organization or improvement of life in the community! It is as sterile and meaningless in terms of social action as anything can be. You know what German education did. It did not do a thing to stop Hitler. These people who knew all these things, with all this erudition, stood idly by and let the storms blow.

I came away from this experience more convinced than ever that the academic acquisition of facts is as sterile and meaningless as anything can be in terms of social behavior. The mere fact that a man knows something is no guarantee that he is going to act wisely. We in America could redouble the effectiveness of our education, and particularly of our teacher education, if we would take half of the time that we are now spending on the acquisition of facts and put it into the acquisition of experience, into opportunities for boys and girls and men and women to share in the life of the community and actually learn by doing. Not only is that true of our teacher education but it is true of the whole democratic structure. Democracy is going to die on the vine unless we can find a way of vitalizing it at the community level. You cannot keep democracy alive with activities in Washington, in the capitol of your state, in areas that are far away and to which the individual has no direct or vital relationship. Democracy is going to be vitalized only if we can so organize it that the individual citizen feels that he is

identified with the social structure and an effective working part of that structure. And that is the world-wide problem confronting democratic societies.

We need a grand strategy for American democracy in a world in which free institutions are at bay and literally fighting with their backs to the wall. We have no such grand strategy. If we had, we would not have let things go the way we have in Germany. More than that, we must realize that the world is suffering from a moral and spiritual vacuum more than from anything else and that we can't lift it out of its present plight through economics alone. We have got to give people something in which to believe, or no amount of economic help is going to do any good in the long run. And we will not give the people something in which to believe by preaching. We will give people something in which to believe only when we can relate them in a vigorous and vital fashion to some ongoing project or activity in the community of which they themselves are a part. And if the church wants to reestablish itself in Europe and on a worldwide basis it must stop mere preaching and begin action, begin giving the people of these communities the feeling that it has something to offer beyond theory.

Many people have asked, what is the political complexion of Germany? You know, there are no Nazis in Germany today. They have miraculously disappeared. Nobody wants to be a Nazi. You cannot find anybody who will now say that he was a Nazi. If he was a Nazi he was only nominally a Nazi. There *are* substantial democratic elements in Germany who are sincerely struggling to do something. It is impossible for anybody to say how numerous they are, but one thing is certain: we must help these democratic elements to come to the surface in the way of leadership, and keep them there, or nationalism is going to return. There is almost universal agreement that if nationalism comes back this time, it will come back under Communist rather than under Rightist auspices.

I might say that we had an interview with Conrad Adenauer, the chairman of the Bonn Constituent Assembly. We spent some time with Carlos Schmidt of the Social Democratic party. We talked to representative leaders of almost all the various political groups and I came away with the feeling there are in Germany substantial elements of people looking in democratic directions. But they have a great lack of experience in democratic action. And I hope that we will stay in Germany for a cultural and educational relations program for the next 20 or 25 years. I think that is what it will take. It is going to take that much time to give these people enough experience with democratic processes so that they can really stand on their own feet.

One thing I think we should be ashamed of throughout the academic life of America we have said too often to people when they asked if they could be relieved to go to Germany or to Japan, "No, we can't spare you." The result is that instead of having the first team over there, we often have the third or the fourth. And we should have the ablest people. If, when the war was over, we had looked over America and picked a dozen or two of the most outstanding people we had, and said to them "Now this is your job because this is the most vital front in the world," by now we could have made enormous gains. Such a move would have done much to support us here at home and to support the things in which we believe on a world wide basis.

As I said in the beginning, I went to Germany worried about Germany and I came back worried about the U. S. I see in the perspective of this experience in Germany that we have not yet grown up to the stature demanded of us if we are going to be the world leader that our geography, our economic resources and our ideological heritage all converge to thrust upon us. We can grow to the required stature only if our education and community life both take on the vital qualities of democratic life and action.

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HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION FOR TEACHERS THROUGH THE INSTITUTE TYPE COURSE

Max Birnbaum

Leon B. Wolcott

INTRODUCTION

Specialists in Human Relations education are in general agreement that the most effective medium for in-service education of teachers in their field is the summer workshop. In the workshop, they hold, fundamental changes in attitudes are effected by combining experience in group living with an atmosphere conducive to both emotional and intellectual re-education. The workshop, however, is designed to serve only a few of the many teachers who desire to learn new techniques and develop insights leading to effective practice. Moreover, if the present trend continues, workshops in human relations will devote more attention to leadership training and less to the classroom teacher who wishes to improve her own teaching and class management. Therefore, the great need, at present, is for a type of training to reach large numbers of teachers, without sacrificing the advantages of the workshop.

To meet this need, the Rutgers University School of Education has been offering for the past two years an in-service course entitled Foundations Of Human Relations Education. This course designed and administered by the authors, has been conducted in various parts of the State of New Jersey.

The development of a successful course was not a simple task. In few areas of education is the material so threatening psychologically to the basic predispositions of many teachers. It was necessary to learn how to win sanction for these emotional and intellectual learnings, how to create the permissive atmosphere necessary for productive group dis-

cussion of highly controversial concepts and issues, and above all, how to close the gap between intellectual acceptance and actual practice. Such treatment was essential if the course were to be even partially as effective as a workshop

The major challenge, obviously, was the gap between the passive acceptance of ideas and intelligent action based upon them. It was also clear that intellectual and emotional acceptance of basic concepts would not be secured solely through verbal means, for experience indicates that relatively few accept the word alone. Therefore, a combination of *verbal presentation* and "action research" is used here, rather than the term paper, because the intent was to suggest simple research procedures demanding remedial action or constructive change by the teacher. Insights into the laws of learning suggest that "fact finding" by the teacher herself threatens her self-esteem less than would a comparable analysis of her behavior by an outsider, however impartial and authoritative. Such self exploration minimizes rationalization and augurs well for effective change. These "jobs" were never to be considered as examples of scholarly, controlled research using all the carefully validated data and other paraphernalia of the social sciences

The experience of the American Council On Education Project: Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools* was sufficiently rich in practical demonstrations of the value of "action research" to warrant our initial experimentation, but there yet remained the serious question as to whether these jobs could be controlled in a course meeting for one hour and forty-five minutes a week with occasional individual and small group conferences. Compared with the American Council staff's frequent half or full day confer-

*The American Council On Education Project was financed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The Director for the life of the project was Dr. Hilda Taba now of the University of Chicago.

ences with small groups of teachers over a three year period, it appeared doubtful that "action research" would yield even a small part of the benefit, because of the necessarily limited course time. Experiences with six separate sections of this course with a total enrollment of 436 prove that the decision to use "action research" was a happy one.

The course was the Institute-type involving an instructor-coordinator as well as specialists in child development, sociology, social psychology and curriculum philosophy. Several considerations dictated this design. In the *first* place, the instructor-coordinators could not claim the Aristotelian intellect which encompasses the needed knowledge and expertness in the disciplines cited. *Secondly*, sanction for the new field of human relations education could be provided by the inclusion of a number of prominent authorities in various fields. Although these "experts" often differed in their interpretations of basic concepts, they always warmly commended the course and indicated their approval and support of human relations education.

The final challenge was the creation of a relaxed, permissive atmosphere in which the participants would feel free to discuss topics which are frequently met with taboo, "the less said about it the less trouble we will have." To bring about such an atmosphere it was necessary to employ much of the experience gathered in workshop situations. In the beginning, attention was focused on relatively non-controversial ideas which acted as a safe point of departure when topics involving group conflict were discussed. Attempts by participants or consultants to focus exclusive attention upon racial or religious tensions, were firmly opposed and the discussion brought back to a consideration of the total picture. This insistence was rewarded eventually in each of the six sections of the course by the diminution of tension when highly complex problems of conflict were analyzed.

The remainder of the article will deal with the subject mat

ter of the course, the problems and hazards in administration and teaching incident to it, an evaluation of the results, and some general implications for teacher education.

CONTENT OF THE INSTITUTE-TYPE COURSE IN HUMAN RELATIONS

While there is need to fashion the course content in human relations to the needs of the teachers involved, and to the special competencies of available consultants, there is no excuse for nebulousness or whimsy. There are four fields of knowledge which very clearly pertain to the problems in this area. The materials presented are drawn, however, from fields of scholarship so rich that no one planning a course need feel hampered in his choices. The materials may be arranged with one exception, in whatever fashion best contributes to scheduling of consultants. The four fields from which we made our choices are, (1) Anthropology (both physical and social) and Sociology, (2) Child study and human development; (3) Psychology, Social Psychology, and Psychiatry, and (4) Curriculum Development. The least flexible of these four fields — Curriculum Development — should be reserved as the final topic for treatment, since the devising of curricular experiences for students depends heavily upon insights gained from "action research", reading and discussion in the other three fields. In planning topics to be presented under each of these four major categories, considerable acquaintance with each of them is required if a fanciful eclecticism is to be avoided. Such a breadth of learning does not, however, demand that the instructor-coordinator be a research specialist in all, or even in any, of them.

The content of such a course utilizes materials which are either omitted in programs of teacher education, or are offered as electives for which there is all too little time. The relationship between the several areas of knowledge is seldom pointed up and even less frequently is their utility

in teaching demonstrated. It has been our purpose to introduce materials from these various disciplines and give them functional integration. In summarizing what we have done, no attempt has been made to fix a rigid pattern, since the variety, depth and richness of such a course could be greatly extended if time and talent were available.

It has been our experience that a discussion of the child in his total social setting is essential. In the not so remote past, there has been a frequent absence of emphasis on the influence of the group in the child's development in much of the material written in this field. This omission needs to be offset by careful consideration of the "group dynamics" forces which operate within the family, the play group, the clique, the gang, the neighborhood, the subtle classroom groupings, as well as those which operate in larger cultural groupings such as those of races, ethnic groups, religions, and social classes. Consequently we directed our emphasis on how the child acts and inter-acts as a member of his peer group, stressing factors of conformity, non-conformity, rewards and punishments.

Sociometric techniques, we have discovered, afford one of the most effective ways of studying the structure and dynamics of children's groups. A great deal is learned from them about the personalities and behavior problems of individual children.

Sociodrama was an extremely useful tool for studying the behavior of children. In playing the roles of adults such as parents, neighbors, teachers and police officers, the child clearly reveals how his behavior is conditioned by the groups with which he has interactive contacts. Sociodrama likewise proved to be a mirror for teachers in which they discovered in themselves behavior tendencies of which they were previously unaware.

Several other ways of studying child development were incorporated in this course. Teachers were instructed in keeping anecdotal records, the use of non-directive inter-

viewing, and the systematic study of the family and community backgrounds of the members of a class. Teachers, we soon learned, looked upon home visitation as an unwelcome, disagreeable, or even dangerous encounter in which they must never forget to play the "teacher" role, and often an unpleasant mission because some boy or girl has been "bad" or is "failing." With the aid of the non-directive type of interviewing many a teacher has become "equal to the situation" and has derived both pleasure and profit from sallying forth from her own fortress of academic isolation into the social milieu of the child.

While some attention to attitude testing would seem to be imperative in the field of Human Relations, the results of the testing techniques now available are so dubious that only cursory mention was made of these instruments. Since the techniques used in "depth psychology" are risky except in the hands of those who have extensive and specialized training, we considered it wise to do no more than to call attention to these techniques.

The whole field of human development lends itself very effectively to "action research" which is so vital to a course of this type. A factual presentation of sociometry, for example, was followed by work sessions and the teachers then started to work independently on their own research projects. Once the teacher has been introduced to techniques, she soon becomes aware of many problems in her own classroom which can be clarified and, in part at least, solved through "action research." Often her examination of her own classroom brings forth spontaneous suggestions for "action research."

The major source of factual materials in human relations lies in the social science disciplines of Sociology and Social Anthropology. We, therefore, explored the nature and dynamics of human groups to provide an intellectual framework and adequate vocabulary for use in the field. It is not ordinarily possible to do more than attempt a sketchy

summary of the basic concepts, trusting that whatever reading is done is adequately supplementary. It seemed wise to us to stress the dynamic aspects of group life at the expense of structural theory.

Since so many of the problems in this area are racial, or what is often erroneously thought to be racial, we first attempted to clarify the topic by summarizing the findings of the most reputable physical anthropologists. We endeavored to differentiate between races, ethnic groups, nationalities, religious groups, and other types of groups often indiscriminately jumbled. While there is some controversy over the use of the term "caste" when applied to American society, we considered its employment sufficiently widespread to warrant its careful examination.

One of the concepts which seems to be most threatening to teachers is that of social class. Nevertheless we have found that teachers can be helped to understand children by studying those wide variations in the folkways, mores, values, aspirations, and meaningful symbols in the class structure of our society which are in some way connected with socio-economic status, ancestry, and style of living. The tendency of most teachers to evaluate child behavior in the light of such social facts is undeniable. It seems to shock them only when it is systematically and objectively analyzed. Our explorations along these lines decreased the tendency of teachers to act judgmentally in narrowly ethical terms when dealing with persons of other racial, religious, or socio-economic groups. This fact would in itself justify consideration of the American status system.

The community, however, is more than a collection of dynamically related persons belonging to different social classes. The ecological patterns of a community's life, the power groups which fashion its destiny, the institutions and associations which serve the human needs of its inhabitants, and the subtler cultural factors, many indigenous to American culture in general but possessing regional

and local variants, which set the style of a community's living, were given consideration. This was not done in a theoretical vacuum. We sought to discover in a specific community what groups and what persons count for most, how they came by their power, how they exercise it, and by what means such influence is perpetuated. In unraveling the tangled skein of power relationships through "action research" many teachers for the first time related themselves to those persons who can be most useful in helping the schools to help boys and girls.

The dynamic study of groups involves the findings of psychologists, social psychologists, and psychiatrists. The principal problem in this area is that of analyzing prejudice and discriminatory behavior and determining how the underlying attitudes, values, and sentiments are formed in people's minds. The results of research in this field revealed many answers. Whence do prejudices come, at what age, and for what purpose? Are they the result of social pressures or are they the psychological answer to some deep inner need, even at times pathological in its nature? What part do the agencies of communication play in perpetuating or negating them? Are the psychological motivations of members of the so-called minority groups in any way different from those of the majority? Is any difference which exists one of degree only or is it qualitative as well? Where, when, and how can steps be taken to reduce prejudice and discrimination? What part does emotional re-learning play in such a process? How rapidly can change be achieved and how permanent and far reaching can it reasonably be expected to be? Can all persons surrender their prejudices without doing damage to their total personality structure? On the positive side, what are the traits of the person reasonably free from bias? How common or how rare are such persons in our culture? Is their number in all likelihood increasing or diminishing? Psychological monographs, public opinion studies, and the published results of

psychiatric investigations were among the sources tapped.

Elaborate, controlled experiments in this area are hardly practicable for the classroom teacher. Relatively simple, rule-of-thumb research projects were found to be feasible. Observations of discrimination as it is practiced in the community were made and even roughly quantified. Practicable means of reducing discrimination and insuring fuller participation of all the school's population in the life of the community when it reaches adulthood were devised.

Finally, we endeavored to develop a sound philosophy of curriculum construction and explored the various techniques by which a curriculum is actually formulated. All of the preceding learnings would have been sterile had we not helped teachers to translate them into constructive learning experiences for children.

It was made clear that Human Relations materials should be incorporated into the curriculum in as many places as possible where it can be done logically and appropriately. It was necessary to belabor the point that they should neither be added as extra units nor artificially and forcibly joined as addenda to otherwise complete learning units. Since the Social Studies and the Language Arts are subject matter areas particularly appropriate for incorporating such materials, special attention was paid to both of them.

Since the human warmth and personal quality of literature not only sensitizes, but also provides a spring-board for intimate and self-revealing discussion, teachers were shown how it can legitimately be used for heightening both self and group understanding. Typical courses in American Culture in both its historical and contemporary aspects were investigated for a fuller understanding of the problems and tensions of today. How teachers of Literature and Social Studies teachers can work cooperatively in increasing the understanding of Human Relations was a problem given careful consideration.

While the Language Arts and the Social Studies are the disciplines most frequently used in furthering better human relations, we made it plain that the curriculum must be viewed in its totality. Music and art, the biological and physical sciences, shop courses, the physical education program, as well as the "home room" program and the legion of activities—once considered "extracurricular" were explored as to how they can contribute to a well integrated program.

This summarization of the content of the institute-type of course in Human Relations is not to suggest that it is definitive or ever should be. There may well be wide variations in the choice of materials. We are merely saying that the four broad areas enumerated seem to us after some experience to be the best guide lines in planning such a course. They are reasonably comprehensive and at the same time permit planning a course which can be offered within the time limits of a single semester.

PROBLEMS AND HAZARDS INVOLVED IN CONDUCTING THE INSTITUTE-TYPE COURSE IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Personnel is always of great importance in social engineering. The instructor-coordinator, as already suggested, must be familiar with many areas of knowledge and be able to analyze critically the contributions of the various specialists. He is far more than a moderator; he must knit together psychologically his own group and the various consultants and employ them to the greatest benefit of his group.

Permissiveness in the class situation is very necessary. One must start with people where they are, utilizing group members wherever possible to give sanction to what is being said and done. The coordinator must have great patience and freedom from dogmatism.

The consultants, must, first of all, be persons whose scholarship is of a very high order. But that is not enough

for they must also be lively popularizers. While "big names" may attract people to a course, teachers are likely to be dissatisfied if the consultants are pedantic, take too much for granted, offer few or no practical suggestions which teachers can use, or evade their questions. The use of highly technical and esoteric language in particular annoys teachers who are rarely specialists in the consultant's field. It may prove somewhat difficult to secure consultants of the calibre necessary if the location of the course is too far removed from a large metropolitan center or reputable colleges and universities. The expense must also be borne in mind, for fees and travelling expenses of consultants can be considerable. The experience of the Rutgers University School of Education indicates however, that, despite this fact, such courses are exceptionally profitable, both financially and in terms of goodwill, since participants feel—as we shall see later—that a real educational service is being performed. Moreover, it will be found that many top notch people so believe in the value of the work that their services can be procured at very nominal fees.

It is essential in such a course to discover what are the major needs of the group. While it may not be possible to meet all of them, it is very necessary not to push them aside. Special meetings composed of special interest groups or committees chosen from the larger group have proved very useful in meeting specific needs.

Since "action research" projects hold so important a place in a course of this type, they deserve special consideration. Some teachers prefer to write a paper by consulting library sources from which they can quote liberally. The results sound erudite and they do not have to get their "feet wet" by jumping into the main stream problems. Such persons are likely to feel that little "action research" projects would be too narrow and insignificant. On the other hand, it must be noted that many teachers welcome projects of this sort. They have grown weary of made-work of

dubious scholarly value which has no direct bearing upon the everyday problems which they face in the classroom.

Every effort has been made to keep the reading in the course on a functional level. To achieve this goal recommended materials presented findings of recent research which are not readily available to most teachers. Little or no attempt was made to set up uniform reading assignments. Participants were encouraged to select their reading independently, allowing their felt needs and deficiencies and the special interests engendered in the pursuit of "action research" to guide their choices.

There are a number of things which teachers seem to find threatening in a course of this type. The general atmosphere of permissiveness is strange and they seem to resent the absence of authoritarian answers to questions. Moreover, the freedom from fixed weekly assignments and a final examination tend to leave teachers at times with a "lost" feeling. The student-teacher relationship of co-learners in exploration is to many a new experience.

That the factual content of the course too has proved threatening to some teachers has been mentioned before. The frank and objective discussions of racial, religious, ethnic, social class, and sexual differences inhibits some participants. Some teachers suffer psychological discomfort when their "practice" of democratic concepts is questioned. We have discovered that to postpone discussion of the more threatening topics until the course is well under way to allow adequate opportunity for cathartic self-expression does much to minimize this particular hazard.

Finally, the physical setting in which such a program is carried on is important. Regular classrooms are not too satisfactory. If it be possible, a circular or semi-circular arrangement of seats is preferable to one in straight rows. A formal lecture situation in which the speaker is placed on a raised platform with a lectern should be avoided since it increases the social distance between him and the group.

Informality and congeniality are much to be sought. It is desirable to use a room where teachers may smoke if they choose, where they can feel free and relaxed, and where minds meet in the genial exchange of ideals. It has proved wiser to choose an evening hour for the meetings than the period immediately following the school day when teachers are weary and deserve a respite.

"THE PROOF OF THE PUDDING"

In each of the sections of the course taught to date some effort was made to evaluate at least the immediate effects upon the participants. Evaluation was made especially difficult because it was impossible to maintain consistent and intimate contact with the school systems represented by the participants. Much of the evaluation was perforce subjective in nature. Factors such as the degree to which the group atmosphere became permissive, the growth in the ease with which psychologically threatening concepts were discussed, and the warmth of the group response to the instructor-coordinator and the several consultants had, unfortunately, to be assessed in such a subjective manner. In every respect the general morale and reactive behavior of the participants appeared to the instructors to be superior to that encountered in traditional courses. Attendance was remarkably high even in the face of, in one instance, a hazardous ice storm which disrupted transportation and community life for several days.

Two additional sources of evaluative data were less subjective in nature. First were the reports on the "action research" undertaken by the participants, which included summarizations not only of what action had been taken but also of the results. Second were the unsigned statements from the participants in which they were asked to list specific instances of how the course had helped to bring about changes in their own behavior, in classroom management in the school as a whole, and in the community at large.

These were sufficiently circumstantial to preclude doubt as to their validity. These "testimonials" were solicited on a voluntary basis and it was suggested that they be typed before submission in order to avoid any attempt to curry favor with the instructor. A remark such as the following reveals a characteristic participant reaction. "I can honestly say that no other course in Education has ever had such direct effect on my classroom teaching. Other courses have been just as enriching and personally rewarding to me, but their effect had little to do with teaching." The "action research" aspect of the course was evaluated by one participant in the following fashion. "The work type project is a welcome substitute for the old type term paper. How I labored over them only to scrap them at the end of the term. On the other hand, I am still working on sociometrics and shall continue to do so."

To be more specific we shall classify the responses from participants under the following headings: (1) changes in the behavior of individual teachers and students, (2) changes in the atmosphere and management of the classroom, (3) changes that affected the entire school, (4) changes in the relations between schools, (5) changes in the relations between the school and the community, and (6) those more sweeping changes that are felt in the community as a totality.

Many teachers felt that "problem children" came to have fewer problems. Isolate children, slow learners, self-segregated groups of children, and hyper-active, domineering children have all been observed to adjust more effectively in the life of the classroom. One teacher writes: "A bully who used to jeer at a Jewish boy now goes to lunch with him daily." After using the sociometric technique another teacher reports: "I have a little boy in my room who, up until this time, had never spoken a complete sentence in the classroom. Whenever he wanted anything, he would just motion and make hand signs. He was placed next to the

leader of the boys. About three weeks later he began to say very short sentences to him. Now he will ask for things verbally but not in complete sentences. *I feel he will be doing this soon.* This may seem insignificant to those who are not familiar with the problem but it means a great deal to me." Teachers increasingly used social adjustment as well as scholastic achievement as a basis for grade placement and found many "problem children" yielding pleasantly to the pressures of a more congenial group.

Teachers found it a bit more difficult to express what had happened to themselves. There was, however, a marked increase in self-awareness. As one teacher put it, "I have not in the past recognized the reasons for some of my attitudes and methods until after-analysis." Their awareness of problems in the immediate environment tended to become emotional as well as intellectual and they found themselves becoming more cautious about making judgmental generalizations. An interesting comment by one teacher bearing on this point runs as follows: "This course has helped me to become more tolerant about the behavior problems of children coming from the lower socioeconomic levels of living. I realize that their sense of values and code of morals are different from mine. I now know that I cannot make them bridge the gap from their lower to my middle class concepts as the result of a quick miracle. I will become less preachy." It is quite clear that the practice of viewing both children and parents as persons has become more common. Teachers saw similar changes in their students as the following testimony indicates. "They now evidence a healthily questioning attitude toward all statements made about people, either derogatory or complimentary" and "they have stopped that everlasting laughing at anything that seems a little different." Unsuspected leadership qualities were discovered in many students. The construction of a sociogram often proved to teachers how erroneous their personal judgments had been in spotting the leaders in groups of students. Through interviews they sought to learn on what

grounds children made their choices and were helped to understand and work with, rather than against, the group dynamics of the child culture.

Classroom changes included greater permissiveness and changes in methods of formulating and executing new topics. One teacher writes: "I have changed the procedure for selecting committees and topics for class work. Now the children select the committees and the topics instead of my appointing the committees and choosing the topics. I have found that much better work has been accomplished and that the pupils are more anxious and interested in doing the assignments." Similar changes in practice were described. Several teachers reported abandonment of homogeneous grouping in their classes on the basis of sex, academic ability, and socio-economic status.

Literature was used more often and more effectively in sensitizing children to problems in human relations. For example, in a high school shop course attention was called to the provisions of New Jersey's Fair Employment Practice Act, the social skills necessary to "get along" on the job and in the community, and the social agencies in the community which might prove useful to students, particularly members of minority groups, once they have left school and have secured employment. Greater attention has been given to individual interests of students in hobbies, games, the arts, etc., when they have educational value or can help the child win a place for himself in the classroom group. The increase in flexibility both as to content and method seems to have added appreciably to the security feelings of the students.

Interest in the course has proved to be contagious in those schools from which the participants have come. This made it easy for participants to enlist the cooperation of fellow staff members in carrying out a variety of projects. Teachers as well as students thus became better acquainted whether it was in the presentation of a radio quiz program, inter-class visitation, or inter-school visitation. Such ex-

periences have been found to be particularly valuable where Negro and white children have shared experiences, often for the first time.

One particularly interesting experiment in a shore community involved a very carefully planned visit to the non-segregated Senior High School by entire classes of Negro students on the Junior High School level. The report on this project indicates that both groups reaped benefits of real importance from the visits.

Another project which has community-wide significance was incidental to a testimonial dinner given by the Board of Education, the teachers, and city officials honoring the Vice-President of the Board, who was a Negro. The dinner was served jointly by white and Negro students, something that previously never has been heard of in this particular community. As one teacher wrote, "Everyone worked agreeably together." Another teacher reporting on the same activity described it as follows: "The girls were scared when they first entered the dining room. White girls and colored girls were holding each other's hands to give each other courage. The girls helped each other in many ways during the serving. Afterwards, they said that they were looking forward to attending high school. They were glad to meet girls from other schools so that they would know more people when they got to high school. All agreed that they had a wonderful time and would like to do it again."

The ways in which such a course may indirectly involve an entire community are numerous. In making a shop course more effective it was found necessary to establish connections with the Anti-Discrimination Division of the New Jersey Department of Education, the Veteran's Administration, local political leaders and city officials, group work agencies such as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.M.H.A., contractor's associations, and labor unions. The "apprenticeship committee" involved members of the union, members of the contractor's association, and the teacher of the shop course who represented the interests of all his students.

both Negro and white. When engaged in a program of this sort, the school becomes a functional community institution promoting better human relations affecting the prosperity and happiness of the entire population of a city.

The accumulated evidence of changes in school practice and teacher and student behavior is sufficiently convincing to warrant the conclusion that a course of this type does go far toward bridging the gap between intellectual acceptance and actual practice. It is apparent that this objective is not peculiar to Human Relations education alone but is equally demanded by other areas of teacher education. In the final and concluding section an attempt will be made to explore the nature of the implications of "action research."

IMPLICATIONS FOR GENERAL TEACHER EDUCATION

As indicated above, the need to bridge the gap between *classroom theorization* and *field practice* is by no means restricted to Human Relations education. Indeed, courses in child study, community analysis, guidance, general educational sociology, to name but a few, could and should develop a similar structure. Proponents of orthodox presentation may argue that students have left their classes inspired with new insights which have promptly been translated into action. It is not necessary, they would probably insist, to develop an elaborate series of projects to effect the identical results. It would be foolhardy to deny their assertions *en toto*, in fact one could cite instances which support their case. However, where changes in practice depend upon a change in teacher behavior, the educational milieu must be so structured that the desirable new insights or opportunities for changes in behavior are not left entirely to chance.

If, for example, courses in child study and community analysis were redesigned to effect the objectives stressed above, both should gain tremendously practical usefulness. The child study course might deal less with lectures on general theory and more with "action research" proj-

ects the result of which could supply a desirable framework for theoretical discussion. Interesting and rewarding ways of observing and recording individual and group behavior among children such as sociometry, socio-drama, open-ended questions, non-directive interviewing, functional anecdotal recording, pupil diaries, simple adaptations of the Murray Thematic Apperception Test, and similar projective techniques are but a few of the "action-research" tools available. The class under the instructor's guidance could help in the analysis and interpretation of data obtained by participants. Supplementary lectures stressing theory and basic research findings would then surely have a more meaningful frame of reference.

Community analysis could be treated in a like manner. Projects involving a look at how the community rewards its differing socio-economic strata, community power lines and their implications for education, direct observation of pupil behavior in community situations out of school, analysis of conflicts between school and community values are but a few of the areas which suggest themselves for treatment.

Contrast between a course stressing "action research" and one emphasizing the lecture-discussion-term paper triad can be endless but the writers' experiences with both types of approaches dictate their firm conviction that the former is of greater effect. Definitive conclusions must obviously await a controlled evaluation which would compare the short term and long range effects of both. While awaiting this evaluation, the writers propose to expand the institute-type course utilizing "action research," confident that their joint experience thus far justifies their assumption that the results of scientific evaluation will validate the hypotheses implicit in this article.

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WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

(A Social and Educational Prospectus)

Leander Boykin

Modern society is in one of the major transitional periods of human experience. Individually and collectively the peoples of the civilized world are torn between the complex and dynamic character of science and technology on the one hand, and faith in human intelligence and the good-will of men on the other

The most characteristic aspect of our civilization, and that which makes our age inevitably transitional in character, is the amazing contrast between the material and the non-material factors in our culture. Ours is an age of unprecedented speed, powerful and secret weapons of war, and unlimited means of production. It is likewise an age of skepticism, distrust, moral chaos, political butchery, and seemingly of educational futility. If society awakens in time and closes the gulf between science and technology on the one hand, and social thinking and institutions on the other, we may literally "inherit the earth." However, if we continue along the road to war as we appear to be headed at present, there is little likelihood of preserving civilization for more than another generation. Our unique mechanical and scientific inventions have created, perhaps unwittingly, grave responsibilities. Unless we shoulder them, we may soon enter another Dark Age — perhaps more retrogressive than that which followed the decline of the Roman Empire.

Democracy is facing a critical situation. We stand on the threshold of being swamped with numerous and complex problems with which our machinery of government is not designed to cope. Dependence and reliance of the national state — upon a bellicose psychology, the atom bomb, new life killing bacteria, or super bombers and fighters can

wreck civilization. This rich heritage of ours has withstood mass thievery and incompetence, but it cannot withstand the inadequate and shopworn political agility of many of our national leaders. Many of our actions are incompatible with democracy. Living in a fool's paradise, we are stubbornly refusing to admit that anything is wrong with democracy in this era of big, dynastic, imperialistic, states. The question of maintaining peace, decency, and prosperity is now too immediate, too critical to continue such a course. The gravest immediate danger facing us is the possibility of being involved in another futile war.

Education, like society and democracy, is also in a parlous stage. There was a time when everything seemed secure, and settled. There never was such a time of course. One never did "get an education" at school. But we thought they did and were fairly happy. Most of us are unhappy today because few things are settled, and we do not seem able to get anywhere the kind of education needed. Such an education may be found, someday, but it does not appear on the horizon at present. Today we have the problem but not the answer. Social chaos is all about us — locally, nationally, internationally. Education cannot escape this fact, however much it may try.

That education should concern itself with problems of contemporary life, and that far-reaching demands are being made upon education by our changing society have been set forth and discussed by many leading educators of our time. They point out that a new situation exists; that the times in which we live demand that individuals think for themselves. They emphasize the need for critical-mindedness, science teaching, specialization, aggregation, social integration and the preservation of democracy. They point out that education is *in* life and *for* life. They argue that the goal of education is to continue to enrich this life process by better thought and act, and that continued

growth is its essence and end. The older philosophies and concepts, they contend, had external goals and set up ends or aims either outside of life altogether, or at any rate outside the life of the learner.

Now that as we face a world changing very rapidly, philosophy, it would seem, must somehow base itself on change or admit its unwillingness to be a force in life's affairs.

The historical record shows that education is always a function of time, place and circumstances. In its basic philosophy, its social objective, and its program of instruction, it inevitably reflects in varying proportion the experience, the condition, the hopes, the fears, and the aspirations of a particular people or cultural group at a particular point in history. In actuality, it is never organized and conducted with sole reference to absolute and universal terms.

While the biological inheritance of the race presumably remains practically unchanged from age to age and thus gives a certain stability to the learning process, education as a whole is always relative, at least in fundamental parts, to some concrete and evolving social situation. It possesses no inner logic or empirical structure of its own that dictates either its method or content. In both its theoretical and practical aspects, it expresses the ideals of some given society at some given period of time, either consciously with clear design or half-consciously with hidden and confused purpose. There can be no all embracing educational philosophy, policy or program suited to all cultures and all ages. If this is true, there are no established and enduring educational aims and objectives. The view that education should seek to preserve educational aims and objectives of the past has been sharply challenged and such educators as Rugg, Bode, Childs, and Raup, who are vigorous critics of the proposal to have education revert to the past for its direction and guidance. They hold that the first duty of the school and the educative process is to improve society; that

it is not enough to enable the child to adjust himself to a social order which is weak in many places, but that the school must play a leading part in changing existing social situations. Rugg urges that the central theme of the new education be the regeneration and improvement of our social order through an education which will equip persons to undertake the reconstruction of community and national life. He feels that thorough-going reconstruction is demanded, and that the only institution known to man that can compass the problem is education. Professor Kimball Young sets forth some of the significant ways in which the school fails to keep up, to say nothing of leading, social change. He contends that of all institutions, the school lags farthest behind and gives to the new generation the learning of the past, often long after that learning has been outlawed by science and time. The traditional functions of education should be discarded, he suggests, and our entire educational system revamped in keeping with the times in which we are living.

The issue is further discussed by Ulich. Under the caption, "Toward What Ends Do We Educate," he contends that, "since in reality there is nothing to which growth is relative save more growth, there is nothing to which education is subordinate save more education." But he does point out that education needs and must have an aim, but that aim must be internal and not external, and that education depends upon and should be shaped in accordance with the general character of a period. He states rather emphatically that "mankind are by no means agreed about the things to be taught, whether we look to virtue or the best life." Neither is it clear whether education is more concerned with intellectual or with moral virtue. The existing practice is perplexing; no one knows on what principle we should proceed — should the useful in life, or should virtue, or should high knowledge be the aim of our training.

ing " He further states in his discussion of the "Problem of Values," that "the prolongation of outworn forms of life means a slow decadence in which there is repetition without fruit in the reaping of value. There may be high survival power. For decadence, undisturbed by originality or by external forces, is a slow process "

Society never has and never will be in a state of complete equilibrium. Education, therefore, has the right to do even more than educate youth toward the recognition and the realization of those values essential for the development of mankind, it must also take into consideration the present and future. True enough there can be no lasting or real education that does not include some genuine discipline — of the moral and intellectual nature of the individual, but the kind of discipline we need is not that emphasized as an aim and objective of past educational periods. We need to emphasize the cultural aspects of education, but not as they were emphasized by those in earlier times. We need ethical training. But religion and morals as emphasized by the Church when it dominated and controlled education have no place in our present society as enduring and lasting aims and objectives of education.

What we must do is to set up as our ideal an organization of society that shall allow the fullest development of every human being regardless of race, religion, social or economic circumstance. We must build our educational institutions in such a manner that this ideal is directly experienced as a way of living. We must therefore strive to make the school into a functioning community in living relationship with the larger community outside — local, state, regional, national and international.

We all agree that education has a right to be heard. The trouble is that no one quite seems to know what it is trying to do. At what shall education aim? At what shall schooling, that limited part of education, aim? The scholastics

answer one thing; the scientists another, the culturists a third thing, the man of affairs a fourth. There are many parties in the American educational world today and of course they do not all speak quite the same speech. But let us hope that there may soon emerge out of the present state of uncertainty and confusion a conception of human life, and aims and objectives of education to which our bewildered civilization and society can cling as a means of salvation and hope for the future.

There has never been a period in American history when there was so great an opportunity socially and educationally to move ahead to better things. At the same time, there has never been a period in American history when the immediate prospects, at least, were so dark and overwhelmingly depressing. We have utopia within our reach, but unless we take rapid and drastic steps to modernize and improve our institutions, especially education, we shall actually pluck chaos from the tree of life.

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HAS THORNDIKE LIVED IN VAIN?

Stephen G. Rich

From educators, psychologists and sociologists, up and down the world, all those who deal with the workings of the human mind pay lip-service to the doctrines of Edward Lee Thorndike. His is a name to conjure with, whenever the processes of learning are discussed. The proponents of "progressive education" and the traditionalist who would emphasize training mechanical skills, alike call upon Thorndike's doctrines to back their preferences.

In view of this fact, the title of this paper is a challenge. Yet its purpose is serious, to show that while the name of

Thorndike is revered and the man himself is loved, his doctrines are very fully neglected—neglected by those who might be most expected to utilize them fully

During some forty years of contributions to our knowledge of the human mind as it acts in learning-situations, Thorndike has covered many different aspects thereof. At almost every point he and his associated workers have contributed new and sure information. Aided by facilities for conducting studies requiring work by many persons, he has multiplied his own thought and influence. Out of this multiplicity of contributions to our knowledge, I here select the three which in my personal judgment are most significant.

The first contribution was made as early as 1904, with the publication of the first edition of *Mental and Social Measurements*. This book in its second edition, 1913, utilizing developments which had been catalyzed into existence by the first edition and aided by the growth of biometrics, definitely established the methods and procedures of mental measurement. From this time on, mental measurement has been a technique, consistent within itself, capable of being learned and applied by any reasonably competent person. Let Thorndike's own words, from the preface to the first edition, state what the contribution essentially consists in:

Experience has sufficiently shown that the facts of human nature can be made the material for quantitative science. The direct transfer of methods originating in the physical sciences or in commercial arithmetic to sciences dealing with the complex and variable facts of human life has, however, resulted in crude and often fallacious measurements. Moreover, it has been difficult to teach students to estimate quantitative evidence properly or to obtain and use it wisely.

It is the aim of this book to introduce students to the theory of mental measurements and to provide them with such knowledge and practice as may assist them to follow critically quantitative evidence and argument and to make their own researches exact and logical.

Thorndike's fundamental contributions lies in the use of the methods of handling what he aptly calls "variable

facts." The same methods have found use in biometrics. Indeed, Chapter III of the second edition bears the name "The Measurement of a Variable Fact." The real core of his contribution, whether original with him, or original only in assemblage of various methods and criteria from various sources into a coherent, workable system of technology, is in Chapter I of this second edition, "Units and Scales." The section on "The Essentials of a Valid Scale" perhaps carries more of the needed coordination of different portions of the system of thought than any other.

This insistence on the valid scale constitutes the real heart of the work of Thorndike on mental measurements. In his terse statement of what constitutes a valid scale, he hides a contribution which would be sufficient glory for any person to have made, if he had done nothing further. The valid scale, according to Thorndike, needs to be, objective, consistent, definite in its differences, comparable with the objects measured, and established with reference to a valid and known zero-point.

One aspect needs further mention. A necessary characteristic of a valid scale, according to Thorndike, is that computations made in terms of measurements using such a scale shall give correct, valid results. Thus, to use an example often cited by Thorndike's pupil, the late Professor Margaret E. Noonan of New York University: — if one treats percentages as a valid scale in mental measurements, the results are fallacious. If we take a building twenty feet high and add one ten-foot story, we increase its height fifty per cent. But a similar ten-foot story added to the Empire State Building increases the height just 1.25%. If we say that a man's attainment in broad jumping exceeds that of 97% of all jumpers, or that "he is at the 97 percentile" and then compare him with another whose jump exceeds 99.5% of all and is at the 99.5 percentile, we use an invalid scale in this same way. Surely it is most unlikely that this difference of 2½% in percentile rank represents

a difference of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ in distance jumped, or is achieved with $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ more ability or effort.

Here Thorndike's contribution is the establishment of means by which we may convert such crude percents or percentiles, as well as other forms of crude measurements, into actual measurements which are

1. Comparable with each other, and
2. Usable for reliable, valid computations.

The question of whether Thorndike's methods here are original with him or derived from such workers as Galton, Spearman, etc., is not in point. Thorndike brought the various procedures together into a coherent and workable technique. What he did was also to establish that the facts of mental life can be handled by such methods. Today this is "obvious" to us. Thirty-five to forty years ago nobody knew whether or not it was true. Thorndike provided the factual basis for our present sure understanding that such is the case.

Genius as well as courage was required to set up such an hypothesis. Hard work was required to establish it factually. By actually studying the same mental fact in a hundred or a thousand or more people, and handling the results thus statistically, Thorndike in the period around 1905 to 1910 demonstrated that this was actual measurement of a mental "variable fact." Here is a major contribution.

The means of accurate measurement which Thorndike thus developed, aided materially in the making of his two other most significant contributions. The reader need only be cautioned that the term "accurate" should not be read as "precise to a large number of figures" (as in the measurements of physics and chemistry) but with due regard to the inherent limits of the measuring instruments here used.

Thorndike's second contribution, among his most significant ones, appeared in numerous papers in psychological and educational journals between 1905 and 1914. It is fairly

well summed up in his *Educational Psychology*, published in 1914. This is the demonstration beyond all question of the specificity of training and learning. So far as factual discovery and report can ever kill any doctrine, Thorndike dealt a death blow to the old ideas of "transfer of training," "spread of training," and "general mental training."

Let us be precise on what was discovered.

Thorndike and his colleagues showed finally and conclusively that one cannot learn one thing by learning another. A simple case is that of learning to spell. One cannot learn to write words correctly by learning to say aloud the order of letters in those words. In a more complex case, one does not learn to handle the English language by studying some other, whether it be Anglo-Saxon, Latin or Zulu. If any alleged "general training in language," such as is still blithely and uncritically mentioned by many, takes place—we lack evidence that such is the case. Certainly nobody has yet presented evidence of carry-over from learning Latin into learning Japanese, for example. In matters aesthetic, the absence of transfer is conspicuous. The musician certainly does not gain ability to respond to the sculpture of Rodin from his ability to respond to the beauties of Chopin's music; nor does he get from his educated response to the massed stimuli of Wagner any power to understand or feel the merits of such an architectural masterpiece as Louis Sullivan's great Chicago Auditorium interior.

Thorndike never denied, or attempted to deny, that where there is a conscious "common element" as between two fields or divisions of subject-matter learned, carry-over from one to the other may occur. He has determined and measured the incidence of carry-over of this sort. His contribution may be summed up in words other than his own.

The carry-over from one field of learning, whether in memory, in judgment, or in emotional effect, to any other, is so small and so

erratic in its incidence, that to count upon it in the slightest as a fact of human nature, is to state an almost entire untruth

In some speech, the locus of which I have not found, he is reported to have said "It is folly to spend an hour a day for four years to teach a pupil Latin, in the hope of helping his English, when there will be no effect in four cases out of five, and at best as much as in one year of such time devoted directly to English as a subject of instruction"

Let us avoid certain confusions still current on this matter

Nothing which has been said by Thorndike or this author affects or underestimates the existence of content shared by two or more fields. As Thorndike himself has put it, we do not have a "transfer of training" when one runs across a familiar idea, a known fact, or a previously understood relationship, between matters thought on in a new field. Thus we have no "transfer" when a student recognizes and uses his knowledge of vocabulary and word-order from German in learning High Dutch, Anglo-Saxon or Afrikaans. In fact, no man has done more than Thorndike himself to show us, by example after example, the extent to which such community of actual content in the material learned, has been mistaken for transfer of training.

A linguistic pitfall exists here, when the same word is used in different fields with different meanings. Neglect of this semantic fact is, as Thorndike himself has many times mentioned, a prime cause of the persistence of the belief in "formal discipline" or "general training of the faculties"

Thorndike's third major, significant contribution to our knowledge of the human mind was made public in 1928, in his compact book, *Adult Learning*. The very terseness and rigidly logical, cogent treatment in this volume has perhaps been a contributory factor in making it too little appreciated. For Thorndike was no journalist; and if he had any flair for publicity and its methods, he carefully

kept anything "sensational" in presentation out of this book.

His contribution here is not too easily phrased. Possibly the following statement of it, as I word the matter, may avoid any misunderstandings:

Part first of this contribution of Thorndike is the discovery that learning ability of every sort continues to grow, for at least nine out of every ten persons, up to a maximum of speed and effectiveness, that is reached at about the age of twenty-eight years with most persons, and which is retained without substantial change for some years.

Part second is the discovery that, for these same nine out of every ten persons learning ability decreases exceedingly slow after the early thirties. Thorndike found that the rate of diminution is about one per cent a year from around age thirty-three up to age sixty-five, to which he carried his studies. Beyond age sixty-five, he makes no statement — apparently with the plan tacitly understood of making a later separate study of mental changes in older persons.

Part third is the discovery that at the age of fifty we are most of us still superior in learning ability to our own selves when, at the age of seventeen or eighteen we were ready to enter college.

Learning ability as studied in these three parts of the Adult Learning investigation is not limited in scope. It is not merely rote learning, not only the ability to memorize, not merely logical learning alone, nor yet mere motor control such as is involved in learning to typewrite. A comprehensive group of abilities, covering aesthetic reactions and other judgments, entered into the total of information which has just been summarized.

Opinion in the scholarly world, outside of those persons specifically acquainted with psychology in detail, would probably be that the author is unjust to Thorndike, neglecting his most widely influential contribution, in naming measurement, non-transfer and persistence of adult learning power, as his major, lasting contributions. Scholarly opinion most likely would fasten upon intelligence tests and

their progeny, as Thorndike's most significant contributions. Such a judgment must be denied validity.

Thorndike neither invented nor made generally popular the intelligence test. Thorndike neither invented nor made popular and made useful the achievement test. Nor can Thorndike be blamed (or credited) for the illegitimate off-spring of the mental achievement tests — those “new style examinations” which have become such a regular feature of current educational practice. He did not invent or popularize the “true-false” question, the “best answer” question with four or five responses set down from which to choose. He did not invent, popularize, or even advocate the “completion test.” These need to be named correctly as “illegitimate off-spring” of mental and achievement tests, since they appear to be identical with such tests, and yet lack everything that makes any standardized test a valid measuring instrument.

The sole merit of these illegitimate offspring, attributed wrongly to Thorndike, lies in the fact that they measure information without introducing an unknown quantity of various language abilities. The true nature of such “new type examinations” was shown up in a number of papers in *School Science & Mathematics* around 1925. Indeed, in one such article, it was shown that a New York state Regents' examination in chemistry, in the “new type,” hit an all-time high of banality with 97 out of 102 items on it requiring verbal memory and nothing more.

The prevalence of these “new type examinations” may perhaps justly become the most obvious sign that Thorndike has worked and lived in vain.

Had the examination-makers had even faint lucubrations of the ideas of Thorndike, they would have known that a subjectively devised series of “new type” questions is no more valid for measuring an achievement or a group of mental powers, than an old style or “essay” test of similar subjective origin. This holds true whether one man or

a committee devises the questions. Unless a genuine scale of results is also devised -- by actual objective and experimental means -- scores on old and new type tests alike are without quantitative meaning.

To conform to Thorndike's discovery of how to do mental measurement, such test material would have to be subjected to trial and sifting. Each question would have to be tried out on a reasonably large random sampling of the personnel expected to use it. Each question must become an instrument whose usefulness is known. Certain questions show up as unworkable under such objective trial, and have to be discarded. On those not discarded, the proportions of success in answering correctly each question need to be discovered. Thorndike himself has pointed out the need to have in any valid mental or achievement test, some questions so easy that almost everyone gets them right, and some so difficult that almost nobody gets them right. A workable measuring instrument must be a scale that reaches down far enough and up far enough to measure every person to whom the test is to be given.

Besides this, discovery by actual trial, of the total scores which may be expected on the test, is essential. Until we have such results, usually called "norms," we do not have a measuring device at all.

Thorndike's own measuring scales, as for the abilities used in office work, would be valueless without just this information. Thorndike himself has sufficiently emphasized the need for such "norms" not only for this purpose, but for establishing the actual measuring scale of equal units.

Thus, the very persons who in many cases believe they are following Thorndike's work in mental measurement are neglecting his discoveries almost completely.

But the most extensive and harmful neglect of Thorndike's work is in another aspect.

It is now approximately three and a half decades since

Thorndike published his *Educational Psychology*. In that book, he disposed of the traditional belief in "general mental training" or "spread of training." Yet within a dozen years after this book had appeared, traces of the old doctrine were starting to seep back into educational and sociological thinking. Indeed, it would appear as if sociology in that period had never even discovered that Thorndike had disposed of the old doctrine at all.

Even allowing for the normal period of cultural lag, the period since 1940 should have seen a complete adjustment to the absence of transfer of training. But an examination of current and recent writings, from textbooks to popularizing articles, from treatises to learned-journal monographs, shows that outright "transfer of training" statements keep on being made and being used as logical steps in developing theories and practice.

For instance, in 1937 this author presented a paper "What Philately Does Not Teach" (3rd American Philatelic Congress Book, 1937, Chicago), dealing with the widely held ideas among hobbyists that the various hobbies and especially stamp-collecting can be justified by the claim that they teach such general supposed mental virtues as "neatness," "observation" and so on. In the discussion at the actual meeting, despite the presentation of Thorndike's results, almost all the persons present attacked the elimination of "transfer of training" and believed that under the stimulus of a hobby interest it might take place. I was called fancy names for asking for evidence that any such transfer took place.

Who among us can aver that he has ever known even the most learned and wide-awake preacher to discard the idea of "general training" or spread of training, in his discussions of ethical and moral practice? In fact, it might be invidious, though quite useful, to point out the extent to which this doctrine is taken for granted in every article on religious education that has appeared in this journal in the

last four years. Specific references are omitted because of their plethora, not because of any difficulty of finding them. A few among us may recall the "Classical Investigation" of the later 1920's financed by a group of agencies whose primary interest was to show that the study of Greek and Latin had special educational values that should be conserved. This report included, curiously enough, an investigation by Thorndike and his co-workers on transfer or spread of training. This section merely strengthened Thorndike's earlier results with more evidence of the same sort as previously brought to public notice. The net result was to re-state these results in terms of the more accurate measurements available thus later.

But in other parts of the report, Thorndike's ideas were slapped out of court mercilessly! There was a section of quotations from the opinions of men in all walks of life, eminent men, as to the supposed values of the classical education they had received. See what they said: man after man spoke glibly and assuredly of the "general mental training" he received from the study of Greek, Latin or both of these primitive, difficult languages. Man after man remained held by the unproven — and false — theory of mental faculties inherited from the days before we had any actual objective knowledge of the human mind.

As a sample of the neglect of Thorndike's work on the absence of transfer of training, I cite a typical college textbook in psychology for educational use. I cite *Psychology And The New Education* by Sidney L. Pressey (1933 Copyright), widely used and quite typical of texts in use in 1949.

Pressey, who is competent and well informed, who wrote in a period when the cultural lag on Thorndike's work should have long passed, still straddled the question. In a forty page chapter on "Transfer of Training" he presents the problem ably and gives a fine statement of the means to attack it. Also the criteria for judging the results of ex-

perimental work in the field are given. Then he cites a melange of experimental reports that are largely irrelevant, instead of citing the knock-down, knock-out work that Thorndike had done and with which he had settled the question over twenty years earlier. Pressey, however, clearly shows that he personally goes with Thorndike. Says he (page 525): "Subjects can legitimately be kept in the curriculum only for their intrinsic, not for their disciplinary or indirect value." Such is his inconsistency!

Most sociological work, along with that of the psychiatrists, seems to ignore the discovery of Thorndike that transfer or spread of training simply doesn't exist. Again it would be invidious to cite cases; but the reader is specially referred to the March 1949 number of this JOURNAL for a rich harvest of both implicit and explicit statements that require the existence of transfer of training to make any sense. Mention must be made also that almost every work, and indeed every article, "heavy" or popularizing, on "character education," leans heavily on this doctrine that Thorndike disproved a generation ago.

Little as we may like it, candor must make us admit that our late and unlamented enemies, the Fascists (both Italian and German), were far more informed than we yet are, on the specificity of mental functions and acts. They did not leave the spread of their poisonous ideas to chance or to any supposed spread of training. They indoctrinated child and adult alike with every aspect of every idea which they wished to have believed. For instance, every aspect of their "Herienvolk" delusion was systematically publicized again and again.

We pass to another of Thorndike's major contributions: that of bringing mental facts into measurable and measured units.

Even among educated people there still persists the idea that Army mental tests of the First World War showed

that "the average American was at the mental level of a twelve year old child." That judgment was widely circulated. But it is based on going directly against all that we know of mental measurement—all that Thorndike has taught us as to accurate methods in that field.

The Army mental tests were set up on the basis of a "mental age" which was derived from the abilities on the activities included and their totals, typically found in normal persons chronologically of each age. But this is an "uneven scale," as has been repeatedly shown. It is an irregular scale, with the intervals between mental ages far smaller from eleven up than lower on the scale. Thorndike, himself, had a good share in discovering this fact.

This confusion is further confounded by the fact that the Army Mental tests are, strictly speaking, not set up into a real scale at all. These mental ages are derived from point scores: summations of total numbers of points secured by performance of each person on the tests used. The points or units of this measurement cannot be defended as being equal, or even approximately equal. Some points may indicate four times as large a difference or addition as others, if we are to trust the National Academy of Science's thousand-page monograph on Army Mental Testing (1922).

In interpretation of mental test results, Thorndike has been gloriously forgotten. His good sense told him that all these claims as to "measuring innate ability" are not even statistically valid, let alone logically valid. The smaller people, however, failed to realize this and made claims of the most absurd sort.

The third of Thorndike's major discoveries was largely neglected from its publication in 1928 until 1942. War conditions necessitated attention to it, but also drew into strong relief neglect of it in other quarters.

In *Adult Learning* (1928) Thorndike demonstrated that learning ability is at its maximum in the ages around

twenty-eight to thirty-one years. He also showed that this total of abilities normally declines at about one per cent per year from this peak. A curious sidelight which comes out in his treatment, is that while actual learning ability has begun to become less by age thirty-seven, the top of actual performance in things learned is reached at about that age. The results published would indicate that a man of forty-five is actually just as able to learn difficult, complicated motor skills as a youth of twenty. The need for man-power in industry led to the employment of middle aged men and women by many industrial firms. Cautiously, the employers took them on — and learned "the hard way" what Thorndike had told us fourteen years earlier. It is doubtful if one in a hundred of the personnel men who worked in this development even knew that Thorndike had discovered and published these facts.

But the neglect of Thorndike's discoveries continued in the armed forces. Subjective opinion of "brass" ruled there, so that men of twenty-eight or twenty-nine were regularly rejected as "too old" to be trained as air pilots, as bombardiers, or in some cases even for handling tanks or artillery. I have seen in print, during the war, statements by responsible military officers that men of even twenty-five or twenty-six do not learn the war skills as quickly as youngsters.

The "cultural lag" here shown, on all three major portions of Thorndike's work has in my judgment caused definite harm, definite loss of human welfare.

The greatest loss of all has come from the persistence of the erroneous belief in spread or transfer of training. Because of this belief, high school students are subjected to linguistic or mathematical instruction, which is without effect upon them other than to create an antipathy to some one language or to all languages, or to mathematical doings of any sort. Colleges, steeped in the misinformed doctrine

are largely to blame. They force their absurd requirements of "so many years of Latin," "so much mathematics," for entrance, on the basis of "training the mental faculties," ... or relegate students to a sub-standard degree and perhaps ineligibility for honor societies, if these requirements are not met.

Instead of facing the actual situation and, in the manner of Thorndike, asking what particular contribution is made by each subject as it is actually taught, educational practitioners go the old way. They fail to dismiss from all practical consideration the unpredictable, small and usually unimportant amount of "spread of training" that occurs.

The "Progressive Educators" are tarred with this brush perhaps more than the traditional ones. It would be hard indeed to find any group of educators who really rely more upon an assumed and unknown amount of transfer of training. Their unwillingness to give specific drill on the basal mechanical skills and knowledges is a striking confirmation of this situation.

Thorndike, himself, after his retirement from active professional work in 1942, admitted by his own words that his work had been in vain. In the fall of 1943 appeared his book *Man And His Works*, the William James Lectures at Harvard. Thus far, up to 1949, this volume has failed to get adequate notice and discussion in educational, psychological, and sociological journals.

For, with this book, Thorndike abandoned psychology and became a sociologist. Much could be quoted, space permitting, to emphasize the far reaching nature of his thinking, the good horse-sense and the excellent wording of his hypotheses. But the real point is that this last book of his only underlined the thesis: Thorndike has lived and worked in vain. So he changed into another field for his "last words."

The same methods which Bobbit and others applied in determination of educational purposes, sociologically, twenty odd years ago are here conspicuously used. Two

chapters, "The Welfare of Individuals" and "The Welfare of Communities" are neither more nor less than the best sort of strictly sociological analysis. The chapter "The Psychology of Punishment" may contain traces of psychology — but any sociologist who would not claim this chapter as strictly in his field would no doubt find himself a literal traitor to his chosen field.

Of ten chapters, only two in this book are psychological at all. The one on "Learning" is a superb and compact statement of the "S-R Bond" psychology, which has been the basis of Thorndike's systematic thinking. No statement of it, by Thorndike himself or anyone else, thus far made public, approaches this in cogent clarity. The one on "The Origin Of Language" is a stimulating piece of speculative thinking or theorizing in psychology — constructing a "meta-psychology." This fine job of good clear thinking with a new theory, that of "Babel-Luck" ably propounded, deserves attention it has not yet received. Whether the ideas can be verified, or whether they will fall under attack does not matter. Yet even in this chapter, the abandonment of psychology as such, for the methods of sociology cannot escape our notice.

To sum up

We all give lip service to the name of Thorndike.
We, most of us, believe we are following his results.
But most of us depart from them consistently in our actual practice.
Thus, Thorndike's work, real contributions to psychology, has been robbed of the great and enduring effects it ought to have produced.

Such is the tragedy of one of America's greatest, soundest, and most prolific minds — the beloved leader, Edward Lee Thorndike.

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RACIAL ATTITUDE SURVEY AS A BASIS FOR COMMUNITY PLANNING: THE BROADVIEW (SEATTLE) STUDY

**Stuart C. Dodd
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Relationship of Research to Planning

Attitude surveys may be conducted to develop instruments of measurement to get at "the facts" in intergroup relations. Community planning is often a device used to effect "socially desirable" change. The Broadview Study is an attempt to utilize precise instruments of measurement to direct community planning.

The Incident Pointing up Broadview

In September, 1948, a racial issue flared up in the Broadview community when a mixed white-Negro family established residence. There had been charges that anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic feelings also existed in the area. Tensions became focused, however, when petitions were circulated requesting that the family be forced to move. On the other hand some residents held that there should be no racial or religious restrictions in the district.

Broadview is a middle-class neighborhood, which, like other sections of the Metropolitan District, has grown rapidly during and since World War II. Local civic leaders say that about one-half of the families living there have moved in within the past five years, and they estimate the average income of families is now between \$1,000 and \$4,500 per year.

This had been an all-white section until 1946 when a Filipino and a Chinese family moved in. But then children took such a psychological beating that the parents felt it necessary to move.

On July 20, 1948, the present family purchased a home in the district and moved in. The husband, a Caucasian, was a postal clerk with twelve years of postal service experience—eleven years in Los Angeles, and one in Seattle. During the first month, his wife, a Negro, was aware that some of the neighbors stared at her; but none was either overtly hostile or friendly. By the end of the fourth week, August 15, several threatening, anonymous telephone calls had been received urging that the family move, they were not wanted.

A week later a friendly neighbor visited to say that she refused to sign a petition to force the family to move, and that she thought there were many who felt as she did. By early September several attempts had been made by residents and real estate men to buy out the family; one party offered a \$3,000 profit which was refused.

The son entered school for the first time and met considerable hostility from children who called him derisive names. But with the help of teachers, acceptance began before the first week had passed.

A Move to Promote Good Feeling

In view of the threatening telephone calls, the family contacted the Urban League for assistance in working out better relationships. A League staff member visited various neighborhood leaders in an effort to establish cordial relationships for the family. Finally these leaders formed a committee consisting of educators, a business man, a housewife, and various clergymen to ascertain what constructive steps might be taken to work out the adjustment of the new family to the community and the community to the family. Pastors of several churches visited them and also spoke to members of their congregations and parishes regarding community responsibility for demonstrating democratic attitudes. Some of the neighbors began to drop in to visit the family socially, to play pinocle, and to invite

them to their homes. The mother was encouraged to attend the meeting of the Broadview P.T.A. and from all accounts it appears she was cordially received.

A Survey of Interracial Attitudes Is Requested

As the committee discussed the problem further, it was decided that more facts were needed on the opinions and attitudes of householders in order to ascertain the extent and degree of tensions. The committee considered this a pre-requisite to intelligent community planning. Accordingly, the Urban League was asked to request the University of Washington to make a survey.

Professors Dodd and O'Brien met with the committee on October 27 to discuss the desirability and scope of the survey. Between the 28th and the 30th, the preliminary questions were formulated with the help of students and the University Public Opinion Laboratory. On November 1, Professors Dodd and O'Brien and staff met in the Broadview School with the committee to evaluate the questions and to agree on a possible questionnaire.

One significant factor of the study was a dimensional plan of a poll, which was drawn up by Dr. Dodd. It was a job analysis of the fifty processes. Included were the dates of each process, the number of man hours, the location of each, and the persons responsible, with their motives (pay, academic credit, civic service) and the documents needed or resulting. This analysis revealed in advance exactly what was to be done, where, by, with, and for whom it was to be done, why it was to be done, and with what materials. The use of such a plan compels completeness in advance, in an analysis of a social organization.

As originally planned, all 400 houses in the area were selected to be surveyed rather than a sample of these. They were divided into units and were assigned to a staff of forty interviewers.

Three hundred and four residents were interviewed.

thirty-five others refused to give information, and no contact was made at sixty-seven places. In the latter case, either no one was at home, or the houses were unoccupied, or the residents were too busy to be interviewed during the two days of the survey.

Background Factors Are Explored

Approximately eighty per cent of the residents interviewed were high school graduates, and more than thirty-two per cent had attended college or university.

The area is a white gentile neighborhood with only the one non-white couple. No Jews were indicated by the replies on religious preference. Twenty-one per cent of the respondents preferred the Roman Catholic faith and sixty-five per cent were Protestants. The remainder indicated either "none" or some "other" preference. Church attendance seemed to be higher than for Seattle generally. One person in four attended every Sunday and one in two attended regularly or occasionally.

A substantial number of the residents had recently moved into the area. Nineteen per cent had lived there less than a year and sixty per cent had moved there less than five years before. Only one family in five lived in the neighborhood at the beginning of World War II.

This factor of mobility is borne out by the geographic backgrounds of respondents in terms of the places where they attended grade school. Only twenty per cent attended grade schools in the Seattle area and forty-two per cent in the State of Washington. Twenty-nine per cent received their grade school education in the Mid-West, eleven per cent in other western and Pacific Coast states, seven per cent in Europe; three per cent respectively in Canada, the Mid-Atlantic states, and the South, and one per cent in Alaska. It is more likely that the amount of mobility is under-estimated rather than over-estimated, since three in-

terviews in five of the study were with women, instead of with the more traditionally mobile males

The Controversial Question of Property Values Is Appraised

The contention of realtors in the area that property values had decreased because Negroes were now living in the neighborhood was not supported by the study. To the question, "Do you feel that property values in your block have increased or decreased recently?" only about ten per cent of the residents said "decreased." Fifty per cent said "increased." Twenty-seven per cent did not know. Nine per cent said there had been no change and four per cent gave no answer.

Many respondents were not even aware that a Negro family was living in the area. To the question, "Are there any Negro families living in your neighborhood?" (within one-half dozen blocks or so) 193 or about sixty-three per cent of the respondents answered "No" or "don't know"; 109 or thirty-six per cent said "Yes"; and two or less than one per cent gave no answer. Only two per cent were acquainted with the family.

All respondents were asked whether they "approved" or "disapproved" of a Negro family living in the area. More than fourteen per cent said "approve" and another sixteen per cent said "don't care." Nearly sixty-three per cent said "disapprove."

Mathematical analyses will be made of the correlations of the responses to the various questions. Only one has been completed to date. It relates the "approval" or "disapproval" of respondents that the Negro family or a Negro family should live in the district, to whether or not respondents knew that a Negro family was already living there.

We can assume that the attitudes of those who did not know of the family at the time of the survey were representative of the attitudes of all respondents prior to the moving in of the family. Any difference in the attitude of

those who knew of the family from that of those who did not know of the family, is then due to changes caused by knowledge of the family's presence in the district

Quite contrary to common expectation, a larger per cent of those respondents who knew that the family was living in the district were favorable to a Negro family being there than of those who did not know. The presence of the Negro family in the district has resulted in nine more persons becoming favorable, and nine less persons being unfavorable, than would have been expected on the basis of the percentages among those who did not know of the family.

Not all who expressed disapproval of Negroes as neighbors felt that property values would decrease because of them. It has been stated that sixty-three per cent of the respondents expressed disapproval. Those who disapproved and who also thought property values would depreciate constituted only about twenty-nine per cent of all the respondents. This added to the seven per cent, who while approving of the Negro family — though believing property values would depreciate, makes a total of *thirty-six per cent which represents all of the respondents who believed that property values decrease because of the residence of a Negro in the area*

A comparison of opinions on property devaluation before and after the respondents had gained insight that the survey was concerned with the residence of a Negro family in the neighborhood, reveals an interesting phenomenon. Before any questions on race relations were asked, only ten per cent of the respondents thought that their property had decreased in value recently. But after such questions had been posed, thirty-six per cent were of the opinion that the presence of a Negro family had or would cause property devaluation. Since the family had lived in the neighborhood for more than three months at the time of the survey, it is clear that not the presence of the family, but the fears of respondents were responsible for this opinion.

Among the ten per cent of respondents who originally said that their property values had declined recently were those who gave as a reason the presence of a Negro family. However, these amounted to only two per cent of all respondents. The fifty per cent of the respondents, who originally said that their property had increased recently, gave more acceptable reasons in terms of increase in value of all property, new building activity in the area, and the prospect of more street improvements.

Petitions Pro and Con Are Investigated

Of significance also is an expression of democratic intent as revealed by those who would sign a petition "to protect the right" of a Negro family to live in the neighborhood. This response was given by nineteen per cent of the respondents, including some of both those who approved of a resident Negro family and those who, although disapproving, would not sign a petition, "to get this Negro family out of the neighborhood."

A similar expression of democratic intent is perhaps implied in the responses to the questions: "Would you sign a petition to get this family out of your neighborhood?" asked of those who knew of the family; and, "Would you sign a petition to keep Negroes from living in this neighborhood?" asked of those who did not know of the family. About thirty per cent of the respondents said "No." Forty-nine per cent said "Yes," with the bulk of this response (thirty-six per cent) coming from those who were unaware of the family's presence in the area. Thus again there is a substantial difference between those who disapprove and those who would activate their disapproval by protest in signing a petition.

Respondents who said they would sign such a petition were asked if they had signed one. Those who said they had signed the petition that had been circulated to get the family out amounted to only eight per cent of all respond-

ents and not the ninety per cent alleged by the realtors

Tolerant Attitudes Are Shown

Despite the fact that sixty-three per cent of the respondents did not favor Negroes living in the neighborhood, more than eighty-eight per cent said that they would not go out of their way to make people of different racial groups feel unwanted. On the other hand, nearly sixty-eight per cent would not go out of their way to make them feel wanted. This may have an important bearing on tolerance. Not only does it indicate the relative lack of attempts at intimidation, but there is an indication that more people would favor making people of other racial groups wanted than would favor making them unwanted. Only five per cent of the respondents, approximately, said "Yes" they would go out of their way "to make them feel unwanted." But seventeen per cent said they would go out of their way "to make them feel wanted."

A majority of the respondents in the Broadview study showed only limited or no experience with minority group persons in the normally accepted categories of community living. About seventy-nine per cent had not attended school where there were a "considerable" number of Negroes, Japanese, or Chinese. The highest number, forty-five per cent, occurred where persons had worked on jobs with them — primarily Negroes. A similar number, approximately twenty-nine per cent, had had persons of all three groups as "close friends" and as "neighbors." Again these were more largely Negroes than others, but not significantly so.

The apparent lack of experience in school may be taken as an indication of the absence of association with minority group persons during childhood. Hence the limited experience with minorities which was indicated in the replies to the other questions can be assumed to have occurred largely during adulthood.

Six social distance questions were included in the study primarily as a pre-testing for a statewide survey of inter-group relations which the University of Washington will conduct. These questions, however, are pertinent to this study and constitute an attempt to measure the attitudes of respondents (all Caucasian gentile) toward Catholics, Chinese, Japanese, Jews, Negroes and Protestants.

Each respondent was handed a card on which were printed the group names listed above. Each was then asked, "Are there any on the list

- 1) you would not want to have as close friends?"
- 2) you would not be willing to marry?"
- 3) whose teen-agers you would not want to see attend parties with teen-agers boys and girls of your own group?"
- 4) whose teen-agers you would not want to have in the same schools as teen-agers of your own group?"
- 5) that you would avoid sitting by?"
- 6) you would not want to work beside as equals on the job?"

Respondents consistently expressed greater social distance for Negroes than for any other groups. The order of increasing acceptance was Negro, Japanese, Chinese, Jew, Catholic, and Protestant. Social distance for these groups decreased from marriage, to close friends, to teen-age parties, to teen-age and schools, to work, to sitting beside, and in reverse order the percentage of respondents who showed no distance to groups increased from three per cent at the question of marriage, to seventy-six per cent and seventy-seven per cent respectively for the questions on teen-agers and schools, and sitting by members of the groups. The rising curve was broken at the question about working beside members of groups as equals. Here it dipped to fifty-six per cent of the respondents who showed no social distance.

Summary and Conclusion

There are good opportunities in Broadview for developing better attitudes toward colored minorities. The following points are an indication of this.

1 It should be noted that a much smaller percentage of petition signers (eight per cent) was found by the study than the ninety per cent alleged by local realtors, and that nineteen per cent of the respondents would be willing to sign petitions to protect the right of a Negro family to live in the area

2 Thirty-six per cent of the respondents *are willing* to have Negroes in Broadview

3 Seventeen per cent would go out of their way to make a family of a different racial group feel wanted

4 Property devaluation was the main reason given by realtors for not wanting Negroes in the neighborhood. But fifty per cent of the respondents after a mixed racial family had lived there for three months felt that property values had increased recently. Only ten per cent said "decreased" among which only two per cent gave a racial reason, and only 3.6 per cent thought that a resident Negro family would cause a decrease in values

5 There are strong suggestions of tolerance which can grow into understanding. The feeling that people should not go out of their way to make a resident of another race feel unwanted, is one.

The study findings imply the presence in the neighborhood of a potentially articulate minority who feel quite strongly about keeping Broadview an all-white and perhaps an all-gentile area. It seems likely that this group is represented among the five per cent who would go out of their way to make a family of a different race feel unwanted, and among the eight per cent who had signed a petition to get the family out.

This intolerant minority, however, is balanced by a minority who feel strongly that democracy can be practiced in daily life. The latter group is represented among the thirty-six per cent who are willing to have Negroes in Broadview, among the seventeen per cent who would go out of their way to make a family of a different racial group feel wanted, and by the Broadview Committee which being organized can be a strong force for influencing the people who feel less strongly about democratic principles to implement the democracy they would all say they believed in.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol 23

November 1949

No. 3

DEMOCRACY MEANS PARTICIPATION

MAX WOLFF

The effectiveness of a democratic society depends on:

- a. The citizen being aware of the power and social responsibility invested in him,
- b. This citizen having unlimited opportunities to become cognizant of all issues challenging the society, to voice his opinion on them and to cooperate in effecting change, and
- c. The development of an educational system to focus these opportunities for all the citizens, and to crystallize the alternatives. At the same time the methods of democratic action must be taught.

A society can only be called democratic when the social conditions for all its citizens are such that they are able to identify themselves with this society and therefore are willing to accept a collective responsibility for all its affairs. Such a society guarantees the very premise on which it is built — the broadest possible platform on which the average citizen may participate — from the moment of first consideration of a civic problem to its final conclusion, participation in shouldering the burden of failure as well as sharing the boons of success, both in moral and material

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investment. Participation does not mean approving somebody else's plans and decisions. It means a citizenry engaged in all stages: planning, decision-making and action for fulfillment. Participation is essential for making a democratic community in its striving "to make each individual master of his own circumstances and environment rather than to train him to fit into an established pattern. It recognizes that a voluntary teamwork of interests and skills is vastly superior to subordinating those skills and interests to an already established leadership, no matter how far seeing, efficient and benevolent. In a democracy everyone is a leader."¹

The effectiveness of democratic participation depends on the acceptance of a collective responsibility. Such responsibility related to the individual himself, the good of the neighbor and the welfare of the community lies with the ability to identify oneself with the community. There is no effectively functioning democracy until this responsibility is felt by every citizen as an inseparable part of his citizenship.

In direct and absolute contradiction to participation (and, therefore, detrimental to the functioning of a democratic society) is every kind and every degree of manipulation. In the sense used, it means to deny the citizen's right to participate or to limit his opportunities of participation to a formalized "O.K." of the decisions made by others. Manipulation can be exercised through a monopolistic machinery of public opinion, functioning without the citizen's control. Manipulation is most easily practiced where the citizen has been taught, and complies with, faith in the expert—the awesome learned man who frightens the layman away from participation. Kept, at best, on the periphery of civic undertaking, the layman is prevented from formulating opinions based on his own thinking and expe-

¹ Jean and Jess Ogden, "Small Communities in Action," pages 234-235

riences and having them enriched by whatever the expert might be able to add.

The citizen's relationship to certain issues, however, has been so intimate that, while he may ask for advice, he will only very rarely allow the decision and execution to be in the hands of others. The reason seems to be an absolute identification with the issue being confronted, a clear knowledge of the degree of personal involvement, and an unconditioned acceptance of personal responsibility for the outcome. Issues within the radius of the family furnish good examples of this.

Certainly the radius of the relationship between the citizen and the community and the nation and the world are broader than that of the family. Issues found in these broader relationships are, or at least seem to be, more distant because their effect on the single individual is not felt as immediately or as directly. The problem of today's citizen is to discover the nearness of his relationship to these broader social units and to recognize his direct and inseparable involvement in practically everything concerning them, however far removed at first glance.

It becomes, therefore, one of the main tasks of education in a democracy to make the citizen conscious of the direct and intimate relationships between his life and the life of the community, the nation and the world. It will be necessary also, and it can be done in the same process of education, to change the defeatist attitude of the average person which keeps him "an animated pawn, pinched and reminded daily of the world in which he exists, yet kept powerless to do anything about it"² Too often is he convinced that, in any case, the decisions are made by others and that, if he is asked at all, it is only for formalistic coloring or political reasons.

² Ch. W. Ferguson, *"A Little Democracy Is A Dangerous Thing,"* page 12

The amount of participation in a society, then, describes the degree of democracy in action. A challenge to the citizenry that will result in participation is the best way to further the democratization of our society. To keep from wandering off the democratic road, popular control over the government's legal and potential monopoly of power is required. To guarantee its effectiveness, this control must have its roots in small localized social units organized on the principle that the good citizen is the one broadly participating against every kind of formal and informal manipulation. The question, of course, is how to weave into the fabric of our society the broadest type of citizen-participation.

Aside from serving as a gauge of the democratic reality in the social structure, general citizen-participation serves other, almost equally important, purposes indirectly. It is always concerned with intergroup relationships. Earlier note was taken that the degree of recognition of his nearness to social issues is the most important factor in the citizen's decision whether or not he should participate in the planning and execution of social action.

Community integration is best achieved by collective action on issues of common interest. The participating citizen will be surrounded by people who know and possess either more or less than he does. They represent *their* points of view. They will be people of varying cultural or national or racial background. The experience of participation in the reality of American life will offer to many a chance of correcting their misconceptions about the meaning of democratic living. These citizens will become the real builders and the best defenders of a truly democratic society. The concentration of social forces bound together by some common interest may mean that on some issues the citizens will find individuals or groups to which he feels close, aligned with the opposition. At other times it may mean that he is

forced to recognize as allies groups and people with whom he is certain he has nothing in common. With his stereotyped conception about his own social position undermined, he will have cause to reconsider his conceptions of *all* the different social forces and groups which he will meet in the process of participation.

Unfortunately it is true that "the business of the world is being carried on in the candlepower of executive minds rather than with the immense power that might be generated by the dynamic of democratic action"³ But how can this dynamic be transplanted or transformed into a functioning social organism? The average citizen shows only a weak recognition that there is a relationship between himself and world, nation, or even statewide affairs. Even on the community level people are usually but dimly conscious of their common interests.

Thus, without the feeling of an intimate relationship between affairs of state and citizen, a necessary pre-condition for general participation is lacking. Therefore, it is first of all necessary to bring about the recognition of the intimacy of this relationship and the power vested in every citizen who is ready to cooperate in the process of formulating decisions.

To organize people whose relation to a specific problem is pertinent enough so that they will be willing to do something about it is the meaning of cooperative participation and a backbone process of democratic action. The object of common interest around which the organizing takes place is the point of concentration at which all the forces recognize their interest. Such organized cooperative action will prove to the participants the value of their program, the possibility of personal and group effectiveness, and the interdependence of everyone and every group in a coopera-

³ Charles W. Ferguson, "A Little Democracy Is A Dangerous Thing," page 16

tive undertaking developed around an issue of common interest.

It is hoped that this edition of the JOURNAL will focus interest on the process of community organization as an instrument of democratic action. A number of colleges and universities in different parts of the country are expressing their interests in community affairs through institutions especially established for servicing the community. An invitation was extended to the responsible leaders of such an institution to express its philosophy concerning some basic principles relating to community organization, (Article No. 2). A contribution dealing with the problems and the process of community organization explains the educational procedures which are considered necessary for bringing about democratic participation in community affairs (Article No. 3).

It was desirable to publish a series of reports by people who are affiliated with various groups observing closely or participating in community organization. These reports indicate interesting differences in motivation as well as in the process of action. The available space made it necessary to limit the number of such reports to four. They were edited only to requirements of space. (Articles 4 to 7)

These reports were submitted to two outstanding social scientists, specialists in the field of community organization and adult education (Articles Nos. 8, 9) They were asked to evaluate the processes as described in these reports and to indicate the principles which they recognize as being derived from them.

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COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

PAUL BERGEVIN and HOWARD C. GILLESPIE

For almost two centuries, Americans have been living in the midst of the largest scale political experiment ever conducted. Its foundation is the premise that the individual man has definite rights and privileges and responsibilities. To develop him in concert with his fellow men is the ideal of American democracy. In this broad-scale experiment, men have been living together in comparative harmony, respecting themselves and others—as people who can move about freely, settle with their families wherever they choose, select a vocation, study for it, and practice it to the limits of their personal capacities — as individuals who can criticize their government in words which would mean certain punishment and even death in some places of the world — and as men and women who can go to the church they choose, when they choose.

What is the tragedy of democracy? That these freedoms and many others have been taken for granted by most Americans. Anyone will agree that "What has been will always be" is a shortsighted philosophy. But the idea has permeated the thinking of many Americans.

Those who would question the political articulation of the average American need only listen in on some of the conversations in factories, offices, farm meetings, at the dinner table, and in the front room of America. Those more vocal can be easily found in "Bughouse Square" in Chicago, Pershing Square in Los Angeles, and doubtless many other places in this country where "philosophers" of one sort or another air their views to anyone who will listen and without interference from governmental authority as long as they refrain from using violence.

The bulwark of democracy is an intelligent electorate supported by purposeful discussion which is followed by judicious action. "Talking it over" has been a significant part of clarifying issues and crystallizing opinion since the town meeting days of our early history. It was never more important than it is at the present moment. Americans must know something of the political, cultural, and social issues of the day. They must be able to give their opinions, based on the facts they know, and, further, to listen intelligently to the opinions of others. Through this process of talking and listening, ideas become more meaningful and courses of action discernible.

One thing stands paramount in this moving drama of man: he has struggled and lived and died for freedom, for the opportunity to be recognized as a vital part of the whole drama of life, for the chance to contribute to man's total knowledge, for the chance to live his life as independently as possible, yet in harmony with the whole. Philosophies of living have been based on these expressions of man. Many people have made substantial contributions to the furtherance of these philosophies, other persons have debased them by various methods such as the adding of more and more controls beyond the needs of man. Some governments have recognized them and built precepts upon them. But sometimes the authority which necessarily must be placed in the hands of a few has been strengthened through some excuse or another; the desire for power has transcended the humanitarian motive, and the people find themselves nearly at the point from which they started their struggle — but not quite that far back, because each struggle for self-expression has left its mark on the road to progress and each new effort can use some of the strength which has gone before.

In America, we have run ahead of our fundamental ideas of democracy. This country has grown so fast and

so large that at the present time it is difficult for us to comprehend the idea of "one-ness." Great numbers of people are likely to forget responsibilities to their ideals so long as their privileges are not endangered.

Those who are forever seeking new, better, and easier ways are frequently duped by economic, social, or political philosophies which theoretically promise much but have little practical background of experience. Too often people are acted *upon* rather than *with*. They ignore the past and its valuable lessons in success and failure of human endeavor, or stick to it with irresistible force, considering all changes as revolutionary. Change based on prejudice and passion is likely to cause a social regression. The difficult problem is to recognize as such the beneficial change, which will lead people closer to their ultimate goal of happiness and contentment. Much confusion in mass thinking is the result of opportunists who promote their theories at the expense of the public welfare.

Democracy depends upon an intelligent, ever-watchful citizenry, intelligent enough to recognize the political charlatan, intelligent enough to weigh and evaluate ideas in terms of their worth to themselves and their fellow citizens, intelligent enough to know that there are forces constantly at work which would sell a package in a pretty wrapping that does not contain what the purchaser bargained for, and intelligent enough to recognize the right of those with whom they disagree to express their opinions.

In the cloudy atmosphere of confused thinking, further confused by the cultural, and religious opportunist, adult education can be any type of education for good or bad which brings about an acquisition of knowledge or skill in an adult. Good or bad is defined in this case as the degree of truth to which the particular type of education has approached. In the political field, a government which exists for and by people would be interested in an intelligent elec-

torate, while an autocratic government would be primarily concerned with obedience on the part of its subjects. Actually, adult education is a broad term which can be interpreted in the light of the particular problem to be solved. Those of us who believe in the dignity of the individual think that adult education should move toward that goal.

Adult education can be a means for the dissemination of the grossest sort of propaganda to the individual who does not believe in the particular ideas which are being promulgated. Adult education can be an enlightening force for truth to those who see truth through an entirely different set of standards. In any case, adult education which we have interpreted as the development of the adult mind is a powerful force provided it is an integrated whole and not a conglomerate assortment of ideas which lead to no common goal. Even unplanned adult education can be a powerful force, but often it is a movement toward further chaos rather than toward order in adult thinking.

Primarily then, the whole movement of adult education in America must point to that which people here have been taught to think is good and desirable, to ideals which have been substantiated through thousands of years of development.

Adult education has taken several paths which have been open to it. One has been the broad programs run by public educational institutions, including formal and informal activities. Frequently such programs are operated by public authority, represented by the local schools, town, city or county, with interested citizens selected to give a broad representation serving as advisory groups.

Programs of adult education are sometimes operated on a broad scale by local public schools, state colleges and universities, or the state department of education. In general, however, the purpose of these organizations should be to supplement and assist the local communities to operate

their own programs rather than to operate an institutionally controlled program

Besides the adult education programs sponsored by public institutions there is the type operated by a particular group whose main objective is to present and have accepted a point of view which has been considered advantageous to the sponsoring organization. Activities of this nature, like any other educational program, may be good or bad; how good or bad depends largely upon the degree to which the philosophies taught fit into the general scheme of thinking in a democracy.

It is thought that adult education, in its true sense, should not be propaganda—that it should not spread any particular doctrine. When private organizations conduct educational programs of their own, very likely a particular system or doctrine of their own will be nurtured and developed. Probably there is reason to believe that such a program of education is beneficial as long as the participants have freely made their own choice, and the doctrines advanced are not contrary to the public welfare.

It has been argued that such private educational activities are not in keeping with the scheme of education in a democracy, the implication being that all education should be under public control and therefore operated for the public good. Such a philosophy may have its merits, but would be difficult to justify in a democracy if it is to survive. In the first place, the very nature of a democracy is an association of people living and thinking in comparative harmony. The main idea which all citizens of a democracy must have in common is that there must be freedom to hold diverse opinions and ideas. The check valve here is that all citizens—not just a select few—have a right to think and express their opinions.

Adult education by private groups is essential in the whole scheme for keeping people mentally alive and alert. The great number of groups which operate formal and in-

formal programs (lodges, churches, clubs, political parties, labor, and management groups) are in themselves a helpful check and balance

If it were not for the possibility of checks which prevent a particular private group from becoming dangerous in its attempts to control other groups or all the people, private educational groups in the adult field would be a detriment to the public good. Each private group obviously has some doctrine it considers peculiar to itself; otherwise it would not be an independent group. Its purpose is to familiarize its constituents with its philosophies and too frequently to indicate, either by outward expression or implication, that this group is correct and their members are different. Harmonious living and the protection of the rights of each group to think what it pleases within rather broad limits can be accomplished only so long as any one group does not become powerful enough to promote forcibly its particular philosophy. History informs us that this has happened, and it can happen again.

Tolerance and understanding are difficult to attain but not wholly impossible. It is difficult because many of those who demand tolerance practice intolerance. It is difficult because true understanding, based on true knowledge, is not readily available in most areas. That it is not impossible is evidence by large groups of people living together in comparative harmony.

Adult education in a democracy should point to broadening the horizons of its citizens in social, cultural, vocational, and physical areas in order to maintain and further develop (a) an intelligent electorate, (b) a healthy and happy citizenry, (c) vocationally competent workers, (d) a broader cultural base for all, (e) an understanding of our rights and responsibilities and those of our fellow men

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COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION: EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

MAX WOLFF

Only participation in the democratic process can produce the preconditions required for its effectiveness: A pragmatic realization that

- a. You should participate
because your interests are involved
- b. It is worthwhile to participate
because you can be effective.

Aside from such on-the-job experience a more formal procedure of education is necessary to learn the know-how of participation. These two ways of education should be interrelated and organized to go on at the same time. The frame of this educational process must be a social setting broader than the family circle, but narrow enough that every participant has a feeling of belonging to it. This feeling develops out of the citizen's recognition that he is part of the social setting and that progress and regress will have a bearing on his welfare. Community living within a clearly defined geographic area and unified by common interests cannot, in the long run, remain immune to the dynamics of carefully planned civic training.

One may well take for granted that no community exists without problems common to all or, at least, a great majority of its citizens. The nature of these problems tends to make it almost impossible for the citizenry to avoid taking some position on them. Still stronger than the logic of conditions and events are apathy and inertia on the part of citizens, a deadness which everyone wishing to become active in a community must face realistically. To overcome inactivity and lack of interest, the citizens must be challenged to the extent of recognizing and being ready to de-

fine their own interests in the community situation. Almost as difficult, afterwards, will be the task of keeping the citizenry from dozing off again and escaping its involvement in the affairs of the community.

Most of the time, the specific local situation in a community will dictate around which issue the community should be mobilized. Quite often, an issue has been in the minds of many people in the community for a long time and has already been discussed publicly as well as privately. But when there is the freedom to choose, the problem which involves the greatest number of the people in the community, and with the best chance of being solved through cooperative action, should be chosen as a starter in the onslaught on apathy and inertia.

Littered streets, unprotected traffic intersection dangerous for children, juvenile delinquency, gang warfare, insufficient recreational facilities for youngsters and adults, no facilities for adult education, no library in the vicinity, bad physical conditions in the schools, poor transportation system, excessive prices for public utilities, discriminatory practices in hospitals, need for a program of public housing, need for a public health center, need to eradicate police-protected vices—these are but a few issues that lend themselves as a foci for community attention. Some of these problems can be solved by the community itself. For others, the community will need outside help. The goal of community organization in the latter cases is to develop a political pressure on the state or federal legislature. Strong middle or upper class group, may not feel a problem acutely enough to recognize it as their own. But it might not be too difficult to open their eyes to the reality that to keep a park enough to get this help.

Some sections of the community, for example, the middle-class, or the water in a swimming pool pure, or to keep, more generally, the community in good hygienic condition,

will benefit youngster and parent from both sides of the tracks and that they all stand to gain in finding ways and means of getting together and jointly working out these problems. More often, it will be a long process requiring almost unlimited patience and insistence to prove to these privileged groups that their own interests are involved. There are, however, community problems more specifically within their radius of living: protection from crime against property or the organization of a baby sitter system. Here the situation is reversed: it is the lower class groups which need to be convinced about their involvement. Sometimes, special interest situations require special approaches. For examples, poor highways or insufficient parking facilities in a community may cause business to suffer. Business groups are first and most directly interested in changes. It will be necessary to prove to the residents of the community how intimately they are involved and, therefore, obligated to participate in action to bring about better highways and parking conditions.

Sometimes, the problem extends beyond the neighborhood or political community

Example:

The need for a modernized mental hospital to serve the *county*

Forcing the state into acceptance of a definite financial responsibility for the functioning of the public school systems.

A *nationwide* Red Cross drive

Organizing the expression of opinion on an issue of *international* importance either to make known that the nation stands behind the government (i.e. on the Atlantic Pact) or to suggest to the government that it change its policy

Even in dealing with problems of this scope in order to make the mobilization and organization of the community effective, it would be wise to break it up into smaller, interdependent units.

Wherever possible, the start of community mobilization should be around issues of more local character. Action concentrated on such an issue and on only one at a time will help prove to the citizen that well-organized cooperation based on broad participation can be effective. The citizen's feeling that he stands alone and is, therefore, helpless can be changed with the knowledge that he is one of many who, unified by interest and action, can carry through their will. After such a first experience, the citizens, armed with confidence in themselves and in the possible effectiveness of cooperative action, will be more ready to accept the democratic process of broad participation and their individual and collective responsibility within it. They will be better prepared to appreciate relationships between their well-being and broader local and even national issues — perhaps even between their lives and the solution of international problems leading to peace or war. "The attitude for world unity and cooperation is an extension of the attitude for community unity and cooperation."¹

"The usual procedure in community organization is first to create the organization and then to decide on projects or program of work. It is a question whether it would not be better to place the initial emphasis on agreeing upon needed project of work, developing community *esprit de corps* and morale by working together for their accomplishments and then perfecting the formal organization upon the basis of this experience."² A more definite community organization, for example a community council, will function

¹ A Manual for Community Organization, published by the Committee for Kentucky.

² Sanderson and Polson, "Rural Community Organization," page 228

as a really cooperative undertaking only if and to the extent that the citizens of the community have gained, by experience, the understanding that their participation is of importance and that, through their participation, goals can be attained which otherwise might be unattainable. The first job accomplished through well-organized and broad "peoples" participation will have the consequence of a shock to the defeatist attitude. Who am I, anyhow? What can I do?

Credit will be given to the group or the person who initiated action, to every group and individual who participated, and to the small representative group which executed the will of the community. This credit will serve as a basis for renewed cooperative participation, either around another issue of common interest, or, dependent on special local circumstances within a definite institutional community organization like a community council.

The value of participation for specific groups and their membership is well expressed in Virginia Hatt's "Union Community Handbook" in which she states (pages 3, 5, 75 and 81) "The real task of breaking down misunderstanding about and prejudice against unions must be done by the local unions in their respective communities. This they can do by accepting their full responsibilities of citizenship through participation in every aspect of community life. Our voice must be heard in the social agency board as in government, on the housing committees as on the school board, on the radio and in the newspapers. When the union works shoulder to shoulder with other organizations in the community people get to know us. Arguments seldom change people's ideas. Personal experience does."

The average citizen's knowledge about his community or even his particular neighborhood is extremely limited. He does not know the conditions which prevail. He might be willing to participate in action to change unsatisfactory

conditions if only he were aware of their existence. A survey of the community might be suggested in order to give the citizen insight into the community. Such a survey, the first step in the process of community organization, should be done as a self-survey carried on by the people of the community. A technique for such a community study has been worked out recently which necessitates a minimum of outside leadership and a maximum of effort on the part of the people concerned. This technique gives an opportunity for all people who participate in the self-survey to become familiar with the findings and to strengthen their sense of personal identification with these findings.³

"Good headway has been made in the organization of a community stimulated to make a better adjustment of its social forces through its own study of its problems."

The citizens who participated in the survey will be aware of the needs of the community. These participants representing numerous and the most varied groups in the community will spread knowledge about these needs. Thus, the inertia of the community can be challenged, its curiosity awakened. The local machinery of public opinion (press, radio, public forums, town hall meetings, etc.), aware of the news value of the survey findings, cannot evade its responsibility of informing the community about them. A well-organized publicity campaign will help to bring about the involvement of the whole community. Groups of citizens interested in special aspects of the needs discovered by the survey will have an opportunity to organize themselves around them and to become active. This can be the beginning of a community mobilized around its own needs.

At any time community organization is attempted, first

³ "How to Conduct a Community Self-Survey of Civil Rights," A Manual prepared by the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress.

⁴ Jesse F. Steiner, "Publication of the American Sociological Society," Vol. XIV "Problems of Democracy," page 98.

consideration should be given to broad citizens' participation without neglecting already existing social agencies, organizations and established leadership. The coordination of the program of the different social agencies in communities is of great importance in developing their effectiveness, but community organization is a different process of broader scope. Its goal is the mobilization of all interested community forces around specific community issues or around the more general issue of the betterment of the community, starting with the local and reaching into the sphere of the national and international.

Professional experts in community affairs, especially community consultants, must be aware that their role in a democracy should be limited to offering guidance in the attempt to analyze a problem, to developing methods for fact-finding and to becoming acquainted with the resources which might be used in approaching problems. They must unconditionally accept the premise that all decisions on action should be decisions by the citizens of the community and that all action should be carried out by the citizenry after it has had the opportunity to discuss the issue thoroughly. The citizen's participation cannot replace the expert, but it is equally true that it is not the role of the expert to replace the people in the process of making decisions. The important function of the expert is to translate his broader knowledge and wider experience into the reality of the specific local situation for which his advice is asked. His consultation should be given in a way which will make it possible for the citizenry to come to its—not necessarily the experts'—decision, after having opportunity to consider all aspects of his presentation: facts, experiences, and suggestions. "Community organization is generally a joint process in which professionals and non-

professionals participate, with the non-professionals always having the last word."⁶

It is necessary that the participating citizen have an overall picture of his community and keep himself informed about every important development in it. At the same time, it is most natural that his interest will be concentrated on some specific aspects of community life: recreation, juvenile delinquency, budget, or whatever they may be. Thus, he will develop his special value as expert in his field without losing his quality as a participating citizen jointly with all others.

Education for participation is education for democratic citizenship. The best teaching method is participation itself. A formal process of education should accompany it under the combined guidance of professional community specialists and citizens experienced in cooperative community undertakings. It should be part of the teaching of civics, to make high school and college students aware of the role participation and manipulation play in our society. The school, in dealings with school affairs, the community in dealings with community affairs, should offer the students opportunities of real—not artificially made up—participation, so that the process of participation becomes a part of the student's growing-into-adulthood and stays with him all the time. It should not be taken for granted that participation in the activities of the home or the school, the church or the club, the business or labor organization means, in itself, participation in a democratic process. It will be necessary to develop a broad and clear definition of "democratic process" to have a basis for the evaluation of participation. Formal adult education for participation is in line with the idea of leadership training which has come to the forefront within the last twenty years. Numerous

⁶ R. H. Kurtz, "The Range of Community Organization, Proceedings," 1940, page 405

schools of thought in the field of leadership training are in competition. some of them unfortunately believing much more in clever manipulation than in truly democratic participation. Leadership in connection with education for participation means "the activity of influencing people to cooperate towards some goal which they come to find desirable"^a It most definitely does not mean the art of manipulating people into wanting what the leader wants and working for it.

The curriculum of education for participation must include

1. How to distinguish participation from manipulation in a democracy.
2. How to get sufficient information about the physical and social environment of the community
3. How to find out the needs of a community and to what degree they are recognized as such by the community
4. How to become acquainted with the resources within and without the community which can be utilized to satisfy these needs.
5. How to approach individuals and groups in the community to make them aware of civic needs and to involve them in the process of community organization.
6. When and how to make use of the local facilities for publicity
7. How to keep the interest of the community in the process of community mobilization
8. How to develop leadership and how to prevent, at the same time, a too complete reliance on the leadership of others.

^a Ordway Tead, "Art of Leadership," page 20

THE CHURCH AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

DON BENEDICT

Christianity is an historical religion. From its inception it has been tremendously concerned not only with individuals but with groups of individuals who are a part of the historical process. Jesus himself lived on the basic assumption that all men are children of God and therefore are members of one family. Thus if all men are members of one family then it is imperative that the Christian be concerned with any movement in society which aims at civic betterment.

The two major obstacles in the process of community organization in the inner-city area are apathy and bitterness. When either one or both of these elements is present in any great degree the task of community organization is extremely difficult. I recall the health officer in our area remarking a year ago that the free health clinics in our area reduced their appointments by one-half because through experience they know that 50% of the appointments made will not be kept. Apathy as I have experienced it in the East Harlem Area of New York City is closely coupled with defeatism. Whenever a new project in community organization is suggested it is met with real skepticism and defeat by most of the residents of the community. There is a feeling of imminent failure and defeat to such a degree that to sink back into apathy is the only cure.

Secondly, there is a common experience of bitterness against most of the other residents and against society as a whole, which is difficult to overcome. To most of our people everyone else is involved in a racket of one sort or another and therefore there is no point in struggling against them. They will at a moment's notice make a list of the rackets for you. These range from the church, through labor

unions, political parties, to the law enforcement agencies themselves.

There is no simple answer to this problem of overcoming apathy and bitterness in the interest of community organization. One can begin however, by saying categorically that the problem is not one merely of knowledge. Dispelling ignorance will not necessarily result in community organization for civic betterment. Most of our residents know that garbage in vacant lots causes the rats to thrive which bite their children, yet to activate the people in our community to clean the garbage off the vacant lots is no easy task. The problem in terms of community organization is how to activate the will of people to the point where they take action against obstacles which seem to be and often are insurmountable. Community organization in areas like East Harlem must of necessity face frequent failure. Therefore no simple pragmatic approach with the people can hope to succeed. Successful community organization in an area like this must be based upon a faith which has the ability to transcend the historical situation, i.e. a faith which does not depend upon the action itself for its drive and enthusiasm.

As an example of the church actively engaged in community organization I would like to tell about what we have called "Agape Meal Groups" in the East Harlem Protestant Parish. After our two store front churches attempted to make the Christian Faith relevant and accessible to the people of East Harlem, we soon discovered that we would have to take the church right into their homes. This we did by drawing on the primitive Christian practice of the "Agape" or "love feast" as it was known. We began by spending three or four weeks calling in pairs on every apartment in one apartment building. After considerable time we would pick out the most stable family and suggest that we hold a meeting of all the other people in the build-

ing accompanied by a light lunch which the host furnished. Each week we would take turns having the meeting in different homes in the building.

We tried as far as possible to build the meeting around the meal shared together. It became a symbol of close fellowship and concern for each other. The meetings themselves consisted of prayer, hymn singing, Bible discussion, sometimes a sermonette by the minister and finally an attempt to relate the elements of the Christian faith to the most pressing community problems. We tried to maintain a balance in every meeting between faith and works. We knew that if we did not get at the depths of each individual's motivating faith we would not be able to secure corporate action once we decided upon a community project. On the other hand, if we merely talked of our faith out of the context of the historical situation it would come to be meaningless and anachronistic.

Specifically, three of these Agape meal groups working together have carried out three different community projects. One was by themselves, and two were in cooperation with the East Harlem District Health Committee, a voluntary group of citizens working on health problems in East Harlem. The first project undertaken by one of the groups was to clean the garbage off a vacant lot in our community. Garbage ridden lots present one of the greatest menaces to health in our community. When such action was first suggested, there were two reasons given for cleaning the lot, one, to reduce the health menace and two, to clear it so that we might be able to make a playground for our children. I recall vividly how certain members of the groups presented the usual objections to the idea. Several said there was no use cleaning it off for the people would merely litter it up again with garbage. I remember how at this time one man immediately remarked that if that happened we would just clean it off again. As the group discussed these prob-

lems it became quite evident that if we did the job we would have to be compelled by a force outside this situation because there was no guarantee that the lot would remain clean. In order to make the work more effective however, they decided that as the men cleaned the lot the women would call on every apartment house next to the lot and ask the people to refrain from throwing garbage on the lot.

The group proceeded to take two sanitation truck loads of garbage off the lot and this spring renewed their efforts and with pick and shovels leveled off the ground so that instead of a garbage filled lot we now have a play lot with sandpile, two volley ball courts, pole goals and a place to show movies twice a week. As was anticipated, we still are required from time to time to push off a few cans and bottles that find their way onto the lot. Because the lot was cleaned by the people in the community, however, others are more hesitant to deposit their garbage on the lot.

A second project undertaken by two of these groups was in cooperation with the East Harlem District Health Committee. The Sanitation Committee of this group had been working on the problem of garbage collection and "air mail" garbage in an attempt to improve the area. The committee met one evening at our church with two of the Agape meal groups attending, as well as some of the high school group of the church. Plans were made to distribute a questionnaire in four blocks adjoining the church to discover if possible the true nature of garbage disposal in the area. A group of twenty-seven people canvassed the four blocks going in pairs and within a week we turned over 300 signed questionnaires which gave the Sanitation Committee a true picture of the violations in the sanitary code which are prevalent in the area. This information gave the committee real facts in discussing the problem of garbage collection with the Sanitation Department.

A third project is now under way with two Agape meal groups along with the high school group participating with

the Housing and Building Committee of the East Harlem District Health Committee. This group is working on a block by block program to get the people to make out complaints to the Department of Housing and Buildings in reference to major housing violations in order that the number of rats in the area may be reduced. We usually are able to do two blocks each evening. The procedure is to set up a small sound truck on the block and assign the workers in pairs so that one of the two speaks Spanish. Each pair is then assigned an apartment house. They take with them an explanation of the housing violations as well as a complaint form which the tenant merely has to check and sign his name. The workers return the complaints to the sound truck where the next day they are made out in triplicate and sent to the Department of Housing and Buildings for action. We are now working in conjunction with the Department of Housing and Buildings so that nine inspectors follow us into the block two days after the committee files the complaints. It is difficult to say at this writing the effect that this action will have on the housing conditions in the area; but it is hoped that with adequate publicity other landlords may feel the pressure of community action to the degree that they will begin to repair the major violations on their houses.

Again this task of calling on people to get them to file complaints against their landlords is not an easy one. Many tenants are so afraid of their landlords that they do not dare file complaints even when major violations are evident. Therefore it is not an easy task for our people to call one or two nights a week only to find that many tenants are unwilling to cooperate. The first night however, we were able to file over 200 complaints on two blocks. It is interesting to note also these people are carrying on this project 8 blocks away from their own homes. This indicates an enlightened self-interest because the housing in their own

immediate neighborhood is worse than where they are now carrying on this campaign.

I think that these three projects undertaken by several of our Agape meal groups indicate that where people are compelled by a faith which does not depend upon the immediate success of the action there is a motivation of the will which is far deeper than merely self-interest. It is true of course, that not all of those who participated in this action were compelled by God. However, it is true that those on whom we could depend time and again were those who felt deeply that all men belong to one family under God and therefore felt that all men are neighbors or even our brothers.

Rev. Don Benedict is the minister of the 102nd St. Block Church of the East Harlem Protestant Parish.

A DEMONSTRATION OF WORKER PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

MYRNA S. BORDELON

I

Labor unions are not philanthropic societies but mass organizations for mutual aid. Workers who join them do so, not out of a high-minded sense of moral responsibility, but because the union is seen as a means to the satisfaction of their own vital economic and psychological needs.

This same point of view is reflected in the attitudes of working people and their leaders towards other institutions in community life. The hard-headed trade unionist, confronted with more demands upon his time, energy and union resources than he can manage to meet, has little interest in do-gooding for do-gooding's sake.

The most practical considerations of group self-interest motivate unions to claim a larger role in community life. To the intensely pragmatic trade union mind, this is the

best way to begin. If the CIO, for example, is becoming more involved in community organization activity throughout the country, it is because of its realization that all the health and welfare problems working people face are a legitimate concern of the union, its awareness that many of these needs cannot be met across the bargaining table, and its conviction that the community must be organized to plan and act, if these problems are to be solved at all.

We began this way in Chicago — with a strong union-centered interest which led directly to participation in community organization efforts. Achievement was possible because this interest met and merged with the interests of other organized groups and with the needs of the community as a whole.

Most unions, no matter how pure and simple in their devotion to bread and butter objectives, have always been committed to broader community goals. The organized national effort in the CIO, however, to develop concrete programs in the direction of these goals is of recent origin. It sprang from the war and from the acute health, housing, recreation and family adjustment problems which emerged in cities swollen out of size with war industry and immigration. The severity of these problems forced to the attention of CIO leaders their own and the community's responsibility.

In Chicago, the war and its aftermath saw a growing concern in the CIO with the out-of-plant needs of its members. It became painfully apparent that, among its 250,000 people and their families, few had any clear idea of how the community was organized to give health and welfare services, or what these services were, or how they could be obtained when they were needed.

The human cost of this lack of understanding, and the community's indifference to it, was incalculable. For example, many families with severe economic or inter-personal problems never got as far as a social agency. Sometimes

precious time was wasted in wandering from one agency to another to find the one which could help. And the families who finally came were often too late for the agency to do more than pick up the shattered pieces. Workers injured or diseased as a result of job hazards frequently failed to secure their legal benefits, because, not understanding the complexities of the law, they were easily led up the garden path by employers and insurance companies. The CIO was convinced that it had to undertake a positive program of service to bring the available community facilities and workers' needs together. The CIO program of union counselling was conceived as a partial answer.

But it was only a partial answer. Certainly it would have been altogether naive to anticipate that these social problems would disappear, if every CIO member in Chicago were given adequate information and guidance about available community resources. For the great gaps in public and private services were plain to see...the inadequacy of legislative provision and community planning for the health, housing, education, recreation and social security needs of the people.

The CIO understood the need for striking at the roots of these problems. While, through its counselling program, it was committed to a program of assistance to individuals, it was not in point of view or practice a case work agency, but a movement born and bred in the tradition of collective action. The CIO's Political Action Committee was established to provide union members with the political facts of life and to mobilize their voting strength behind the CIO's broad program of legislation. But even the most effective political action machinery was understood to be inadequate, unless supplemented by community action carried on daily in close cooperation with other organized groups concerned with the social welfare. The CIO sought to participate actively in all phases of community planning through the development of labor representation on the boards and

committees of Chicago's public and private agencies.

But, like most American cities, Chicago's welfare system was controlled primarily by big business and the social register. A check of the 5,000 individuals serving on agency boards of directors in 1945 disclosed the names of only three CIO representatives. Labor's claim for representation and participation was hardly welcome among those of Chicago's leading citizens, who were not only reluctant to share their power, but unfriendly to labor from the outset.

But there were others who were warmly enthusiastic toward labor in its efforts to participate in community life. They saw that such a working relationship with the unions made it possible for the agencies to reach thousands of people who needed service. They were eager, too, to have the organized strength of labor geared into the community's welfare machinery to give new impetus to its planning, policy-making and administrative functions. They were not afraid of democratizing social work.

There were others, too, who, while not primarily concerned with workers' needs or the democratic process, were willing to grant labor its place in the sun. These were the troubled fund-raisers, anxious over the gradual disappearance of the big giver from the campaign scene and increasingly aware of the need for "broadening the base of giving." They were realistic enough to see that workers would continue to finance community agencies only if they had an active partnership in them and could obtain their services when needed.

II.

In July 1945, the Social Work-Labor Project was set up on a demonstration basis in the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago and financed by the Community Fund. Today it is the Labor-Welfare Service, a permanent department of the Council, employing a total of five labor staff representatives from the CIO, the AFL and the Railroad Brotherhoods. The particular activities of the staff differ

according to the programs requested by their respective labor groups. But the overall functions are broadly the same, and include

1. The development of educational and interpretive activities designed to make welfare services more fully known and used as needed by workers, and to provide knowledge and understanding of the financing and operation of the community's welfare system

2. The stimulation of labor participation in campaign activities of the Community Fund to help spread the base and raise the level of giving among workers.

3. The expansion of active participation of labor groups in community planning and in the operation of welfare services.

The training of union counsellors from the ranks of its local unions has been the core of the program carried on by the Chicago Industrial Union Council, CIO, in cooperation with the Labor-Welfare Service. Since 1945 a total of 1218 volunteers have been trained in short courses to locate the health and welfare problems of people in their plants and neighborhoods and to refer such problems to the agency best equipped to give service. From the very beginning, the union counsellors have extended assistance beyond the plant gates to include persons not in the CIO.

The astonishing success of this mass education and service program has been due in large part to the excellent referral machinery operating in Chicago to assist the counsellors. While the CIO was not alone in requesting the establishment of a Community Referral Service, it was able to demonstrate the need in Chicago for a central clearinghouse to give information and referral service to every one in the community. When the need was seen, the CIO played a large role in developing and supporting the plan.

In its three and one-half years of operation, the Community Referral Service has handled a total of 2600 problems referred by CIO counsellors. While this is about ten

percent of its total case load for the entire city during this period, it actually represents about one-third the volume of service rendered by union counsellors, since many problems are handled without channeling through the referral agency.

From among these counsellors a new corps of community leaders is emerging, men and women with specific knowledge and experience about their community's processes, lacks and need for change. From their ranks seventy CIO representatives have been appointed to serve on ninety agency boards and committees. While the opportunities extended to labor for full participation are still extremely limited, the trend in Chicago is toward more community interest in understanding the worker's point of view and securing his participation through official labor representation.

III

In the Packinghouse strike of March 1948 lies a dramatic story of how, through careful planning and organization, the CIO was able to mobilize the community to meet a crisis affecting 17,000 people and their families. Long years of low wages in the packinghouses meant that, soon after the strike began, hundreds of families were in immediate need of food, rent and medical care. It was clearly the responsibility of the public and private agencies to meet this crisis. The Community Services Committee of the CIO, through the Labor-Welfare Service, arranged a meeting with these agencies to alert them to the emergency and to develop a joint plan of action. All groups agreed that strikers should be granted assistance on the same basis as it is given to any individual in the community who is in need.

During the strike period, the Chicago Welfare Department received 2700 applications and granted financial assistance to 1500 strikers and their families. The remaining number were either referred to jobs or were found to

be ineligible under the law. The Salvation Army agreed to provide financial help to the families of key leaders whose work was indispensable to their unions and who, therefore, could not be released to take other jobs. At the United Charities non-resident strikers, ineligible for public aid, were granted assistance.

A powerful community organization in the neighborhood, the Back of the Yards Council, rallied support from many economic nationality and religious groups for the strikers, raised \$6,000 for food, provided medical care through neighborhood doctors, referred people to jobs and issued limited food orders on an emergency basis to 2,000 families. One settlement house not only loaned facilities for a soup kitchen and meetings, but also permitted its gymnasium to be used as a CIO Counselling Center. In another settlement, where food packages were stored and distributed by the union, free clinical care was rendered to those who were ill. The State Employment Service and the Urban League made a special effort to locate jobs for strikers and to channel job orders into the two employment offices located nearest the stockyards.

In the course of the strike, approximately 7,000 strikers were interviewed by union counsellors on their welfare problems. To lighten their load, counsellors from other unions volunteered their services during off-job hours. In screening workers seeking assistance, interpreting agency requirements to them, preparing applicants with proper instructions, and following up to ensure that necessary services were being rendered, these counsellors made a remarkable contribution, both to their members and to the entire community. They performed their work with such understanding, efficiency and dignity that the Commissioner of Welfare was moved to commend them in the public press for their invaluable assistance to his agency.

The strike demonstrated effective organization of community resources to meet emergency welfare needs. But it

was only one point in an evolving pattern of labor-community collaboration in Chicago. In thirty-four cities throughout the nation, similar patterns are forming under the guidance and supervision of the National CIO Community Services Committee. Through its counselling program, through labor participation in welfare planning both on a community-wide and neighborhood level, and through its aggressive campaigning for social legislation, the CIO hopes to make its larger contribution to human welfare.

In the fourteen years since its birth, the CIO has shown an enormous capacity for maturation. Its aspirations go far beyond narrow conceptions of business unionism to embrace a positive interest in community welfare and a well-thought through program of community service. The extent to which these aspirations can be transformed into reality depends in part upon the integrity, skill and sense of responsibility of the CIO. But, more important, upon the readiness of our community leaders, organizers and welfare technicians to help organized labor put its vast potential to work for all of the people.

Dr. Myrna S. Bordelon is the secretary of Community Services Committee, Chicago Industrial Union Council, CIO.

MODERN WOMEN AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

ELIZABETH BRADLEY

The history of women's organizations in the United States reflects the vast changes in community life, occasioned by the shift from an agrarian to an industrial civilization, and the emergence of women's awareness of themselves as persons with an individual destiny and social purpose.

A second American revolution may be traced between the purely charitable and maternalistic impulses of 1793, when the privileged ladies of Philadelphia founded The

Female Society for the Relief of the Distressed, and the network of mid-twentieth century clubs and leagues, associations and federations, through which women now express their selfconscious desires to improve their own status and to further what seems to each group the best interests of community and nation

Indeed, it would probably be impossible today to find a hamlet so tiny or remote that in it some group of women could not be counted upon to render the services which it can afford or is ready to receive

Women have mobilized themselves and their neighbors, in cooperation with other local organizations, to bring about community improvement in thousands of towns and cities in the United States. Farm women in the South, on a state-wide basis, have taken the lead in establishing maternal health services. On the West Coast, women have led in community service to migrant workers. Large cities have felt the impact of women's natural interest in decent housing, and political machines are coming to know that women want more than empty platform promises

In one New England community, the town fathers found their annual budget analysed line-by-line by women who were unwilling to allow their children longer to attend school in a dilapidated firetrap. And a new brick building of classical lines, with hot school lunches and improved teaching standards, emerged from that budget scrutiny

These accomplishments mean simply that, although women still feel their primary concern to be home and children, they recognize that their family's welfare is inextricably interwoven with the democratic vitality and well-being of the community in which they live.

Among the many important women's organizations in the United States there is room here to mention only one.

The Young Women's Christian Association serves about three million women and girls, more than half-a-million of which are organized in teen-age groups. As a mem-

ber of the World's YWCA, it is affiliated with YWCAs in sixty other countries and thus is a part of the largest purely women's organization in the world. Growing out of the Protestant tradition, it nevertheless accepts as members women of all religious faiths, although the electoral members, who form the policy-making bodies and who are voting delegates to annual meetings and national conventions, must subscribe to a simply worded declaration of Christian faith.

The YWCA is a democratic organization which not only provides health, recreational, counselling, educational and housing services to women and girls, but also educates and acts upon a public affairs program which has grown naturally out of its spiritual and democratic concern for the welfare of society.

It has also been a pioneer in the inter-racial field and is known throughout the country for its efforts toward full integration of minority groups in Association life. National conventions of the YWCA are unique in their wide representation. Home women, students, teen-agers, business and professional, farm and industrial women, board members and employed staff, of whatever racial background, are all to be heard as the convention registers its decisions in regard to inter-racial activities or matters of public policy.

In New York City, the YWCA tries to meet the needs of widely separated neighborhoods by maintaining several activities' centers and residences. Among the highly diversified districts which together make up this great city is the old section called Clinton, bounded on the east by 8th Avenue, on the west by Hudson River and extending between 42nd and 59th Streets on the south and north. Two generations ago a desirable residential section, it is now crowded with low-income families of Italian, Irish, German, French, Greek and Puerto Rican extraction. Surrounded on all sides by commercial enterprises, which each

year encroach a little more upon the limited and undesirable living space, the area has shown increasingly those signs of blight which may be found in similar neighborhoods in hundreds of communities across the United States. And for many years, these signs of decay have been so obvious as to win for this district the title "Hell's Kitchen"

One of the first and most discernible of the social ills to be observed in this section of New York's West Side was, as usual, an alarming increase in juvenile delinquency. Accelerated, as elsewhere in the United States, by the Great Depression and the Second World War, the youth of "Hell's Kitchen" were given little help in meeting their natural desires for fun and for social and economic security. The citizens and government of New York City have neglected this area, thinking of it primarily as commercial rather than residential in character. And as a result, its post-war boys and girls are "waiting to die," as one worker in the district puts it, by the time they are fifteen or sixteen years of age.

It was to bring new hope to teen-agers and young adults, and to provide more adequate and wholesome recreation for all age-groups, that the Clinton Center was opened. Its sponsors have realized that, to combat juvenile delinquency, adults and young children also must be served.

The Young Women Christian Association of the City of New York had maintained a building in this area since 1892. But when its quarters became too old and costly to operate, the West Side Committee of Management decided to experiment with a decentralized program, making use of existing facilities. This type of planning takes the program to the people and makes possible the reaching of larger and more diversified groups.

The YWCA was urged to this decision by other groups in the Clinton neighborhood which were also discussing ways in which its residents might be provided with more normal community life, and by their strong conviction that the Association's contribution to the area was too valuable

to be lost. And so it happened that, beginning two years ago, New York's Board of Education, the West Side YWCA, and an especially chosen Community Advisory Committee launched the Clinton Community Center in Public School Number 17.

Open five afternoons and evenings during the school year, the Center provides an educational and recreational program for Clinton residents of five years of age and older. Those under fourteen enjoy its opportunities in the afternoon, while older teen-agers and adults come only in the evening. During the summer of 1949, a day-camp, with bus transportation to one of the State parks, has been an additional feature of the year-round program.

The Board of Education supplies the building and employs some of the part-time program personnel. Fees for annual membership (50 cents for children over fourteen and \$1.00 for adults) are used to purchase program supplies. The YWCA contributes other personnel.

The membership of the Clinton Center Advisory Committee clearly indicates the community mobilization involved in inaugurating and maintaining its services. Its chairman is an under sheriff, and the other members include a patrolman, two Catholic priests, a Jewish rabbi, a judge of the City Court, two directors of nearby settlement houses, the manager of a neighborhood movie theater, school official, parents and YWCA representatives.

Many obstacles had to be overcome before this kind of cooperation could be accomplished.

Gradually and patiently, community appreciation has been developed, although there has been special difficulty in recruiting young employed women, and other adult programs still suffer in attendance because many parents cannot leave their little children in the evening. This latter problem is being solved in part by family members learning to share the responsibilities of baby-sitting as well as the satisfactions of participation in Center activities. An older brother, for example, will hurry home after a basketball

game to take care of the younger children so that his parents can together enjoy a social hour. And fathers are staying in nights so that their wives can attend sewing classes.

Seventy children between the ages of eight and fourteen attended the 1949 Summer Day Camp. And it is hoped that this carefully planned program, which has had all the features of a true day-camp, with hiking, camp craft and "cook-outs," will aid materially in bringing new interest upon the part of parents during this winter's season. There has been a small fee for this service so that adults have had to make minor sacrifices in order that their children might participate. From the visible and tangible advantages of this enterprise new community participation should eventuate.

Teachers have been tempted to lodge complaints against the Center when they find evidences of school-room disorder following the use of the building's facilities the night before. Center leaders find it far from ideal to plan an active program for strenuous teen-agers in a room where desks are unmovable. Teachers and leaders alike have had to meet almost insuperable difficulties as the Center's program has included the more intractable youth.

On the other hand, school authorities have benefited from this mutual enterprise as the members of the YWCA's Board of Management and of the Center's Advisory Committee have been influential in bringing about such building improvements as new stage facilities and other enlargements of recreational equipment. Teachers and superintendents find helpful the newly aroused and immediate concern of the citizen in all school problems. And the volunteer and professional leaders of the Center have themselves come to know better the vast problems of their city as they have worked closely with school authorities, often sacrificing some of their immediate objectives and ways of work.

Mrs. Elizabeth Bradley was the former Editor of "Woman's Press," the national magazine of the YWCA.

COMMUNITY ACTION TO ELIMINATE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

MARIAN WYNN PERRY

Segregation in various aspects of community life is commonplace in small northern towns. The Negro communities in most of these towns have recently begun concerted efforts to eliminate the most striking example of this — the segregated school. In the small towns of the middle west and north Atlantic states, however, where Negroes constitute only two or three per cent of the population, their voting strength cannot furnish the basis for the elimination of discrimination. In such communities, the elimination of discrimination must depend upon changing the attitudes of the very people who are actively practising or passively acquiescing to discrimination. This change in attitude can only be regarded as possible if one believes with Gunnar Myrdal that white America is devoted to the American creed of equality and has feelings of guilt about discrimination, causing much conflict with that creed.

Experience in one small northern Indiana town indicates that much can be accomplished if the community is sensitized to the discrimination in its midst. The campaign in that town is described below as an example of a technique which might be improved and developed for application to similar problems.

Of forty thousand residents in the town, one thousand are Negroes. Typically, they live in a small area running along the south side of the railroad tracks. This community supports at least four churches, a beauty parlor, barber shop, tailor shop, a few cafes. Its residents constitute the unskilled labor pool servicing the rest of the community. The town itself has a number of manufacturing plants, stores, one newspaper which owns the radio station, and a general air of prosperous cleanliness.

In the summer of 1948, its pattern of race relations was a welter of inconsistencies. Negroes feared to seek food in hotels and restaurants about town. They could not get skilled jobs. Their children were segregated into an inferior elementary school. Recreation for Negro youths was provided by a Jim-Crow recreation center, with a Negro staff worker in a dilapidated building. There were a large number of organizations in the Negro community, social clubs, church affiliates and civic groups. The largest and broadest group was a branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

On the other hand, the YMCA did not exclude Negro high school boys from its pool. The YWCA was moving toward integration of Negro girls into white clubs, its cafeteria was considered the one "safe" white eating place for Negroes. Negro children attended the high school. One of the white businessmen's fraternal orders provided a college scholarship for an outstanding Negro boy.

In 1947, the NAACP commenced agitation to eliminate the segregated elementary school, against which resentment was high. They were handicapped by the fact that segregation had been set up some quarter of a century earlier at the specific request of the Negro community in order to provide teaching positions for two college trained Negro women. Coincidentally, at the time the request was made, the city had decided to abandon an old building known as the South Side school, a few blocks south of the Negro residential area. By regulation of the School Board, all colored children attended this school, while its white pupils were sent to the newly built Hawthorne School on the periphery of the city. By 1947 the Negro community had expanded sufficiently so it just reached the edge of the South Side school yard. There were 100 children in the South Side school in six classes, taught by four teachers in four rooms. One of the teachers was the part-time principal.

and art teacher. No indoor play space was provided. Toilet facilities were old and inadequate; plaster was falling and the heat was supplied by a system which had been cast off when a white school got a new heater. To add insult to injury, the playground of the school was used for white children exclusively in the summer for several years prior to 1947.

In 1947, the colored parents were approached by the NAACP and forty of them signed a petition to the School Board pointing out the inequalities of the South Side School and further alleging that the school had been condemned unsafe when it was abandoned as a white school. The School Board met and was reported in the press as having "filed away" the petition. The school superintendent stated that "there is no need for further action." It was learned, however, that the contemplated building program of the school board included plans to spend several thousand dollars on repairing South Side. At this point, appeal was made to the National Office of the NAACP for aid.

When the National Office representative first met with the NAACP branch officials, it was determined that except for two representatives of the CIO council, who had voluntarily approached the branch to offer aid, and the wife of one white minister, the Negro community had no contact with the white community and no knowledge of whether in the white community support would be found for their campaign. On the other hand, the CIO officials and the minister's wife when interviewed, stated that in their opinion, the white community had no idea about the existence of the segregated school or that it was inferior and resented by the colored community.

It thus became apparent that the first job was to secure publicity about the school and about the resentment against the school. It was also clear that the Negro parents must

furnish the basis for any organized community activity. Local branch officials had been informed that the School Board would not be available for a conference to discuss the matter with the representatives of the National Office.

A meeting was held with the Negro mothers and several of them pledged that at the opening of the next school term they would refuse to register their children at South Side. The same night the parents and CIO and NAACP officials attended a meeting of the city and announced plans to boycott the school as well as to enter suit against the School Board and the city if the school was not abandoned.

The following day, the South Side school was front page news, and a visit was paid to the newspaper editor to explain the purposes of the campaign and the facts. A sympathetic contact was thus established with the only source of publicity in the town. Material to aid in preparing an editorial was furnished and resulted in a dispassionate analysis, very helpful to securing support from the community.

An effort was made to meet with the superintendent of the schools who refused to discuss the matter stating that his only function was to carry out the board's policy and that he had no authority to make recommendations to the School Board about the matter of segregation in the schools. However, there was obtained from him a copy of the regulations of the School Board concerning the fixing of boundaries of school districts which clearly established the requirement that all Negro children attend the South Side School. Requests to individual board members to meet informally with the representatives of the NAACP were refused.

On the afternoon that the threatened boycott and legal suit was announced in the press, leading white citizens were invited by phone to attend a small meeting at which the stand of the Negro mothers and the NAACP would be

explained. The list of persons invited to this meeting was obtained from a friendly newspaper reporter, the CIO council and the minister's wife. It appeared that curiosity as well as sympathy impelled some of the acceptances. Those attending were church women, Inter-denominational Ministers Alliance, the newspaper owner, the families which owned some of the largest business establishments, League of Women Voters, Association of University Women, PTA groups and Trade Unions.

Prior to the meeting, published figures of the school budget were examined and the per capita cost of maintaining the segregated school was established. It indicated such startling facts as a \$2.00 per month per capita expense for janitor service in the school. Several of the better informed Negro mothers advised of a conflict between the city council and citizens groups because the council had ignored the recommendations of the citizens committee in the selection of members of the school board. Armed with these two facts, the meeting with the white group was opened by a presentation of the facts about the inferior quality of the South Side school—the legal cases in which NAACP had been successful against similarly inferior schools and a general statement as to the bad psychological effect of segregation upon both white and Negro children. The high per capita cost of the South Side school was also described. The persons present were then asked to make suggestions for action which might result in the elimination of the school. The PTA group said that the Mayor, who had authority over the budget, would be particularly sensitive to the figures on the cost of the South Side school. The wife of a businessman stated that the Chamber of Commerce which was seeking to attract new business to the town would be concerned at the threat of bad publicity. The League of Women Voters, the PTA and the Association of University Women were particularly concerned at

the fact that Negro children could not secure a fair basis for competing in the high schools with white students when they started in a segregated elementary school. At this meeting, we learned for the first time, that the opposition to closing the South Side school was centered in the Hawthorne School where the Negro children would most logically attend should South Side be closed. After some discussion, we learned that parents in the Hawthorne school feared that the Hawthorne school would become "inferior" if 100 Negro children attended it, while other schools had almost no Negro attendance. Some sympathy with this point of view was expressed by persons attending the meeting. It was suggested that dispersion of the Negro children among other school districts would accomplish two purposes; first, it would minimize the opposition of the Hawthorne residents, and second, it would make it possible for persons outside the Hawthorne district to advocate the closing of the South Side school and at the same time be free of the charge that they had no interest in the matter since their children would not have to go to school with Negroes.

Before the meeting ended, most of those present agreed to write letters to the newspapers or make other public statements in favor of closing the South Side school or to speak privately to councilmen and School Board members advocating that the South Side school be abandoned.

Immediately after these discussions with white groups, the NAACP called the Negro mothers together once more and discussed the advisability of asking that all South Side pupils be entered in the Hawthorne school. An examination of the map of school districts showed three other schools generally contiguous to the Negro area. After much discussion, it was agreed that integration of the children into all of these schools would be better for the children, as well as mitigating the opposition to our program. This decision was not easily arrived at, nor was its accept-

ance as wholehearted as might have been hoped. It was too greatly regarded as an expedient to win support among white groups.

Following this decision, one of the leaders of the white groups arranged an off the record and confidential meeting between the NAACP representative and the woman member of the School Board who, after our plans were explained, expressed interest in the idea of dispersing the students among other schools. The School Board itself, however, continued its refusal to discuss the subject.

Additional means of publicity was then sought, and a mock trial of the case of the South Side parents against the School Board was arranged. The Mayor, city councilmen, School Board and public were invited. At the mock trial, held in a Negro church, parents living outside the ghetto testified that they had been forced by a tenant officer's threat of prosecution to send their children to South Side; the janitor of South Side testified that the inadequate heating system was a hand-me-down from a white school. Pupils testified to the frequent closing for lack of heat, one teacher for two classes, overcrowding and falling plaster. At the end of this evidence, the audience was asked if it wished to defend the School Board. No one came forward and the audience was then polled by row, as the jury. More than one hundred people stood and voted to close the school. The Mayor and some of the city councilmen did not vote but made statements of sympathy. Almost \$200.00 was raised and excellent newspaper coverage was given. The following day, two members of the School Board individually sought out the NAACP representative and discussed our threatened suit and proposals. The campaign of letter writing and personal contact continued.

The regular meetings of the School Board held subsequently were attended by large groups of white and colored citizens, many of whom spoke in favor of closing the school. At no time was there any public opposition to end-

ing segregation. The opposition was phrased in terms of lack of space in other schools, concern for the welfare of the Negro teachers, and the convenience of the South Side school to the Negro neighborhood.

Within a month the Board voted not to open the South Side school in the Fall and a plan was worked out whereby the Negro children were distributed among all the schools in the town. Negro teachers were integrated into the other schools most successfully.

In the meantime, the only adverse action was the burning of a cross in the Negro neighborhood. Cool heads prevailed, so that except for a small notice in the newspaper, the incident passed as if unnoticed. The way had now been paved for the cooperation of the groups brought together by this effort on a project to secure employment opportunities for Negro graduates of the high school.

The practical difficulty of securing the personnel for such a job need not be here discussed, but it is important to note that no organization concerned with Negro problems has, as part of its program, the development of skilled personnel to work in the field on similar problems. The NAACP with branches in more than 1600 communities in forty-five states furnishes the membership basis in the Negro community, but does not provide field workers to assist in community organization around its program in local communities. The Urban League has a smaller concentration with offices in only large cities and confines its service to the larger communities. In some areas the Anti-Discrimination committees of CIO unions have undertaken some of this work. In other areas, small membership organizations staffed by volunteers have tried to fill the need. It is clear, however, that large scale changes will not be effected until one of the two large Negro organizations secures funds to translate a program against segregation into local community action.

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COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

We attempt here to indicate what can be learned from the four preceding case studies of community organization in relation to (1) community structure as the setting for the community organization process, (2) the range of problems in the community structure which call for community organization efforts, and (3) techniques in community organization which prove effective

As would be expected there is considerable variation in the completeness of the reporting of these several cases. The emphasis in each varies with the background and purposes of the reporter. The sample is small and heavily weighted on the urban side, including two cases from New York City, one from Chicago, and one from a small Indiana city. Even with these limitations it is possible to derive certain generalizations concerning the three points given above

Community Structure as the Setting for the Community Organization Process

Through these four cases one catches a glimpse of several of the more important dimensions of community structure, for example, organized special interests groups, professional agencies, the pattern of social stratification, and the power structure

Studies of both urban and rural communities have revealed that usually from forty to sixty per cent of the adult population have membership in one or more organized groups, excluding the church. When churches and other religious organizations are added, the ratio increases somewhat. Communities of five to ten thousand may have from fifty to seventy-five organized groups of some con-

sequence, while in the larger cities these are numbered in the hundreds. Such groups compete with each other for the time, financial support, and leadership ability of the people, while at the same time trying to meet certain of their needs. Our case studies concentrate especially on organized groups in the field of labor, race relations and religion, but mention is frequently made of other groups as well.

Often growing out of organized groups but sometimes established *de novo*, are professional agencies, both public and private, which have been developed to provide programs and services needed by people. These agencies are part of the basic social institutions characteristic of Western society. They have developed especially in such fields as education, social welfare, health, and recreation. It will be recalled that in the sample case studies special attention is given to schools, welfare agencies, and the YWCA, with more limited mention of other professional agencies. Oftentimes the primary objective of community organization is to effect coordination and readjustments between these professional agencies so that the needs of the community may be met more adequately.

Outside of the formal social organization of the community and cutting across both the organized groups and the professional agencies is another dimension of community, social stratification. To a greater or lesser extent in every community people look upon themselves and others as being in recognized layers or strata which are characterized by a certain social status involving particular obligations and privileges. Membership in these strata may be determined by wealth and income, family background, education and other factors. In most American communities economic position seems to be most significant. Thus we have the social class structure of the community.

Another aspect of the social stratification pattern in-

volves groups whose membership is determined by nationality or racial background. Here one finds minority groups whose behavior is determined largely by formal or informal regulations developed by the dominant group.

The social stratification approach to understanding community is important in relation to community organization because particular strata are characterized by particular problems. Also the concept of democratic community development calls for participation by representatives of all segments of the community in the planning process.

Finally, in these case studies we get a glimpse, albeit too fleeting, of certain elements in the power structure of communities. Since power usually involves formal relationships, we may look for its focus largely in the institutional structure of the community. Yet it warrants separate treatment. In the NAACP project we see the role of politicians and the school board as functionaries in the institutional structure. The people who control the decisions of the politicians and the school board are not referred to, but we may assume that they exist. This case study could have been even more revealing had the mechanisms of the hidden power structure of the community been laid bare.

Levels of Community Organization

Shifting our sights somewhat, we may inquire into relationships between community structure and certain levels of community organization action. Here it is significant to note that community organization designed to achieve certain objectives can best be carried out within a single city block or even in a single apartment house. Still again community organization to achieve other objectives should focus on a neighborhood. Finally community-wide and, in rural areas, county-wide action may be indicated.

When the desired goals can be achieved by a group of citizens acting on their own and when a large proportion

of the population needs to be reached, the most effective level for community organization is as close to the grass roots as possible, in other words, the block or apartment house in cities. Effectiveness of action at this level was demonstrated in the so-called Block Plan developed by local defense councils under the sponsorship of the national Office of Civilian Defense in World War II. In the case study of the church groups in East Harlem, we have an example of this type in which garbage was removed from vacant lots which were then made into small playgrounds.

At the next higher level, the neighborhood, action may be taken upon more fundamental problems often requiring assistance from organized groups and formal agencies. Still the project can be kept fairly close to the people and the problems attacked may be peculiar to that particular neighborhood. The Clinton community center, developed cooperatively by the schools and the YWCA, is a helpful example of community organization on a neighborhood basis. Similarly the action growing out of the "Back of the Yards" movement in connection with the packinghouse strike in Chicago is another.

At the higher level of community or county, we find that planning and coordination tend to be emphasized more than direct action projects. Here participation by organized groups and professional agencies is a cardinal point. The process must necessarily be farther removed from the people and must depend more upon representative action. Labor participation in the Chicago Welfare Council is at this level of community organization. Also the NAACP project which resulted in the abandonment of a segregated school in the small Indiana city is likewise an example of community-wide planning and consequent social action.

The Range of Community Problems

Many of the more pressing problems in American communities which call for community organization efforts

seem to be included in the four case studies. These problems relate to welfare, health and sanitation, recreation, adult education, formal public education, housing, employment, and discrimination against minority groups. Other problems sometimes attacked through community organization but not included in these cases are inefficient government, taxation, various war-born needs, juvenile delinquency, crime, cooperatives, and the like.

Effective Techniques in Community Organization

Several different types of objectives in community organization become apparent in the case studies. These would include: first, community planning to meet the needs of all people, second, full mobilization and effective coordination of community resources, including the various organized groups, agencies, leadership, and all volunteer effort, and third, the awakening of citizens to social action despite generally prevalent apathy and inertia. In this last connection, it may be observed in the account of the church projects in East Harlem that combining religious motives with the objective of community betterment can become an effective spur to social action.

Many of the techniques which are generally effective in community organization may be noted in the case studies. For instance, we see clearly the necessity of as wide community representation as possible in the description of how both whites and Negroes participated in the NAACP project and enlisted the support of many organized groups in the community.

The important role of fact finding in community organization seems to be somewhat neglected in these case studies. It is hinted at in the NAACP project but the accounts are necessarily too brief for the reader to obtain a clear picture for each community organization effort of just what fact finding was necessary, when, and by whom. We may generally conclude, however, that participation by

lay citizens in community self-analysis will pay off, whereas formal surveys by outside experts alone may rarely lead to social action.

The essential job of molding public opinion is illustrated in the NAACP project in which the mass media of communication such as newspaper and radio were used. In addition, use was made of community meetings and even of a mock trial as a means of mobilizing public support. The other case studies fail to give much attention to this point.

The use of political action is also hinted at in this same project through letter writing and personal contacts with people in the power structure. Also legal action and the boycott were threatened.

We are able in these case studies, then, to get at least a few hints concerning effective techniques in community organization.

Role of National Agencies in Community Organization

In three of these four case studies national agencies have played an important part in the community organization efforts. Perhaps no more important problem faces national groups than how to work effectively in relation to local communities and especially to planning and coordinating efforts at the local level. To some national agencies community organization seems primarily to involve answers to the question of how they can most effectively organize the community *for their own ends*, rather than how their resources, financial support and skills can best be directed so as to *meet community needs*. The national agency which is concerned chiefly with public recognition of its achievements rather than with how it can work most effectively to meet local needs may be found too frequently in the American scene.

It is significant that the representative of the NAACP in one of the case studies went into the small Indiana city on the request of the local chapter to advise on how a par-

ticular problem might best be attacked. He had no ready-made blueprint to impose but rather began working within the community structure as he found it. In the Clinton community center, the YWCA decided to merge its efforts and resources with the public schools in a coordinated effort to meet recreation and adult education needs of the neighborhood. This type of submergence of agency recognition and abandonment of long-standing methods of operation in deference to a locally planned program worked out in cooperation with other agencies is all too seldom found. Participation by representatives of the CIO in welfare planning in Chicago has been guided by the national Community Services Committee of the CIO. It is significant that this group has recognized that a trade union as a rule should not become a professional social work agency but rather should participate in community-wide efforts to improve the functioning of such agencies. The national organization has prepared materials and provides field service to local unions in an effort to guide them in their relationships to community organization efforts.

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COMMENTS ON FOUR CASE STUDIES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

HOWARD Y. McCLUSKY

My comment begins with a consideration of the conditions which existed before these examples of community organization emerged. In each case, these communities had put up with their deficiencies for years. The poor school, the foul garbage, and the restricted welfare services were all familiar blights. Inertia, fear, irresponsibility, lack of imagination, and the simple fact that no one had seriously believed that anything could be done had combined to produce a mood of fatalism. These conditions had apparently been accepted as inevitable and unchangeable.

But they were not inevitable and unchangeable. Something was done. The right of initiation, one of the most treasured privileges of democracy, was exercised, people had gotten up on their hind feet, and had organized their frustrations into a constructive attack on notorious needs. Moreover, their arousal involved no resource that was not available to the respective communities before. No new agency was essential.

These adventures in community self-help were in effect a reactivation, a rearrangement, and expansion of existing agencies under the whip of new energies aroused in people who had long lived there.

It is the translation of inertia into intelligent, goal-directed activity under the initiative of the consumer of the deficiency which in the judgment of this reviewer describes the essential character of these demonstrations. That this transformation does happen with ordinary people in ordinary situations is one of the most heartening features of modern life. Its meaning has such potentiality that its operation deserves further analysis.

In a sense the translation of inertia into activity (in the

case of these examples) required the establishment of lines of communication between the various persons and agencies involved in the programs. In reporting "Community Action to Eliminate Racial Discrimination," Marian Perry states that with two exceptions "the Negro community had no contact with the white community and no knowledge of whether in the white community support might be found for their campaign. On the other hand, the CIO officials and the minister's wife (the two exceptions) when interviewed, stated that in their opinion, the white community had no idea about the existence of the segregated school or that it was inferior and resented by the colored community." Likewise, there had been no effective interchange between the agencies ultimately involved in the establishment of the community center in the Clinton area of New York City. It is also obvious that before the advent of the 'Agape Meal Groups' of the East Harlem Protestant Parish there had been little interaction among the people involved, and in the case of the Labor Welfare Service in Chicago it is apparent that the gears of both the welfare and labor groups had rarely meshed. In all of the above instances, effective communication had been practically non-existent, but achievement advanced as lines of communication were established. At the same time, interest in communication though latent, and the means of communication though disarranged, were far more potent than the persons involved had supposed.

In the second place, it is clear from these reports that community organization is more than a matter of structure, such as the delineation of functions, the definition of roles, the designation of offices and the formulation of by-laws for the regulation of these elements. Instead community organization is a dynamic process of community problem solving imbedded in an interplay of forces, interests and resistances with enough machinery to make the process manageable. It is more like an adventure in participative

community change or 'community engineering' (if the manipulative overtones of the engineering concept is removed) than a problem in setting up machinery for administering community affairs

In the third place, in spite of the preceding point, it is important, especially for the academically tinged, to note that in each of the four cases attention of the participants was focussed mainly on the job to be done and not on the method by which it was to be done. Production was central and procedure was incidental. Of course procedure was important to the leaders, and procedure is both explicit and implicit in each of the four narratives, but the leaders aroused the energies of their collaborators by fastening concern on the need for a new school, the removal of garbage, the increase of neighborliness, the provision of better recreational facilities and the expansion of welfare services. Process as such, a common preoccupation of the professional, is not a prominent objective for the lay participants in these projects. I am not arguing the relative merits of emphasis on either element; I am simply reporting what appears to be a fact.

In the fourth place, this reviewer is struck by the fact that in each case change was greatly facilitated by the action of an agency or person outside the circle of those directly involved in the problem. The program of the East Harlem Protestant Parish originated in the concern of an officer of a church, the facilitators of the Labor Welfare Service and the community center of the Clinton area (New York City) community center were not exclusively local, and the NAACP played a prominent part in bringing about better educational opportunities for Negro children in the northern town that is described. In fact, in the last instance the group that should have been most concerned, namely, the Board of Education, did not move until forced by an aroused and informed public opinion. These facts

suggest one point which deserves special attention. It suggests the hypothesis that people may live with a problem so long that they are often blind to the possibility and means of its solution. This point should not be interpreted to mean that an outside agency should take an exclusive role in producing local change. But local people appear to require outside stimulation and reinforcement, especially in overcoming resistance and in discovering better ways to perform.

In the fifth place, brief speculation about the future of these projects may throw some light on the vexing problem of continuity in community organization. Evidence in the narratives is too slender for dogmatism, but it appears from the available material that permanence of outcome depends on combinations of at least three conditions: (a) the extent to which the project serves a continuing need; (b) the extent to which the service satisfies its constituency, and (c) the extent to which the service of need is incorporated into the regular program of a permanent agency. Program acceptance is likely to be more permanent, other things being equal, if the program is sustained by a single rather than many agencies. This argument is advanced on the grounds that stability of support depends on the agreement of all the agencies involved and unanimity among several agencies is often difficult to maintain. Supplementary evidence not available in this discussion would be required to establish this last point thoroughly, but in my judgment, it is relevant to the topic of continuity in community organization.

Without taking time to apply the details of the reports to the three conditions suggested in the preceding paragraph, this reviewer would estimate the permanence of the outcomes of the four projects in the following order: the outcome of the project on racial discrimination would be most permanent, the outcome of the Labor Welfare Service

would be second in permanence, the Clinton community center third, and the project of the East Harlem Protestant Parish an uncertain fourth. In concluding this point, however, we should remember that impermanence *per se* may not be an indication of failure. For short term projects at their completion often leave a deposit of confidence and imagination which may be applied by a community to the achievement of other goals.

So far the discussion has referred to points that have general relevance for the four narratives. I wish to devote the concluding paragraphs to selected implications of the two projects considered separately.

As a matter of procedure it is especially important to note how gains in the project on racial discrimination were made when the nature of the opposition was defined. In this case the opposition centered in the parents of the Hawthorne school who "feared that the Hawthorne school would become inferior if the 100 Negro children attended it." That is, these parents maintained an attitude which subsequent events disproved. Whether or not the parents were originally justified in holding such a view, it is significant that their belief was a potent source of resistance and that progress occurred when this point of resistance was defined.

The project of the East Harlem Protestant Parish contains two important principles of procedure. One is the principle of propinquity, and the other, the principle of togetherness. In work with adults, the range of whose world is restricted by the remnants of energy and time left over from the severe demands of job and home propinquity is of the essence. The development of satisfying face-to-face relationships in a home setting is far more effective than the impersonal approaches of such secondary media as correspondence, printed materials, etc. Such a procedure necessarily makes large demands on the time of lay or profes-

sional leaders, but it is thoroughly sound as a technique of community organization.

Many thoughtful observers are convinced that the impersonal conditions of modern urban living often lead to an impoverishment of social life for the individual and that as a reaction against this impoverishment there is a great drive for a satisfying togetherness, especially in our large cities. The project of the East Harlem Protestant Parish was procedurally sound in attacking this psychological deficit in the lives of the people whom the project was intended to reach. The 'Agape Meal Group' had the added advantage of motivational clarity. In this case the leaders prompted by clear motives dissolved the resistance of people who suspected that everything is a racket and that any gesture of apparent disinterest is really a masque for some selfish maneuver. Hence bringing people together because of an intrinsic respect for people as human beings may not only have religious value but is also a sound approach to community organization. Thus the 'Agape Meal Group' by embodying principles of propinquity and togetherness deserves careful attention on the part of those interested in discovering effective ways in solving neighborhood problems.

The preceding discussion by no means exhausts the full implication of the four narratives of community organization but within the modest limits allowed for these comments, it is intended to suggest inquiries which may be more carefully pursued and hypotheses which may be more thoroughly tested not only by further investigation of the cases reported here but also by an examination of projects in other communities.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Negro in the United States, by E. Franklin Frazier
New York: Macmillan and Company, 1949, 767 Pages

Professor Frazier has brought a better background of training and insight to the task of analyzing the position of the Negro in the United States than perhaps any other living scholar. After his *The Negro in Chicago* and *The Negro Family in the United States*, this volume is a natural in the sequence. Perhaps the outstanding contribution of the book is the fact that it places these patterns of inter-group relations "in a sociological frame of reference." The sections on African background, slavery, reconstruction, etc., provide a valuable backdrop against which to examine the emerging institutions in the Negro community and the growth of "race consciousness." The book is a healthy antidote to the literature which placed the Negro in stereotyped roles and is equally devastating to the cheap sentimentality revealed in many writers who have rated contributions by Negroes all out of their importance simply because the contributor was a Negro. Perhaps the finest compliment which could be paid to Dr. Frazier, and which is reflected so well in this work, is that he is a scholar first and a member of a minority group second; and while his scholarship carries a powerful impact towards democratic patterns of living, his interest is in seeking understanding first, irrespective of where the facts take him.

Democracy in Jonesville, by W. Lloyd Warner and Associates
New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949, 313 Pages

This study of another mid-west community is a further attempt to spell out the meaning of social class in American life. There are many facets of the book which will appeal to all students of social organization. Those who are educators, however, should give careful study to the indictment that "the high school is the 'snootiest' institution in the community."

The previous studies done by this group of social scientists have shown that the teachers belong to the middle class almost without exception. They have also indicated that child rearing practices are profoundly affected by the behavior patterns of the class into which the child is born. It remained for this study to bring home to educators the necessity of facing squarely the responsibility of providing the atmosphere in which the creative talents of *all* children will be developed.

Unless and until we have clearer vision of the impact of these social class factors in class rooms and in our school community relations, we as educators remain "handmaidens to the status quo" and contribute our mite to greater inequality of opportunity in America. Overt discrimination is bad enough, but there is a real sense in which the loss to society is greater when the fire of ambition is never kindled than when it is snuffed out because of prejudice.

Democracy In Jonesville is a corrective for lack of understanding of Social Class in America.

Child Growth Through Education, by Gertrude Hildreth. Translated by Charlotte Biber Winsor. The Ronald Press Company, New York: 1948, 428 pages.

This book presents a comprehensive overview of the whole field of elementary education. In format this is a text book and as such offers the preservice student of education a well-organized body of material, with good questions for study and excellent references for further readings at the end of each chapter. The premise on which the elementary curriculum is based is that of "unified learning" with subject matter areas developing out of the experiences of children and teachers. Interesting and full documentation is afforded through the direct records of teachers in genuine classroom activities.

If one accepts the "learning through experience" philosophy and method which is so ably set forth in this volume, there must arise the question as to the advisability of the text book method in the education of the young teacher. As a reference volume, however, this book offers a fine compendium of important material made easily accessible to the young student in the field.

Charlotte Biber Winsor

Building a Successful Marriage, by Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1948, 559 pages.

The Landis' work, based on its authors' courses in modern marriage at Michigan State College, is essentially a textbook, equipped with bibliography, review questions, and suggestions for class projects. The thirty-one chapters deal with courtship, engagement, adjustment in marriage, the birth and rearing of children, religion, finances, relationships with in-laws, mixed marriages, and legal aspects of marriage. Sexual material is presented fully, frankly and simply. Motivation is treated as entirely conscious and the psycho-

analytic contribution to this field is hardly mentioned. Of special interest is the account of much previously unpublished research on marital adjustment amongst the authors' students and their families.

Werner A. Lutz

Family, Marriage and Parenthood, by Becker and Hill. Boston, D.C. Heath & Co., 1948, 829 pages.

A large variety of subjects embracing many aspects of family life such as contexts of family life, preparation for marriage, marriage interaction, problems of parenthood and family administration, family crises and ways of meeting them, are covered in this book. The 23 authors represent a cross section of sociology, psychology, genetics, economics, law, religion, medicine, child development, etc. The articles are carefully written, documented and interesting. However, many of the articles emphasize problem aspects in family life which could be anxiety provoking to the reader who has not had preparation through simpler reading material and through discussion in classrooms or groups. The book has considerable value for teaching purposes.

Frances Scherz

The Creative Nursery Center, by Winifred Y. Allen and Doris Campbell. Translated by Charlotte Biber Winsor. Family Service Association of America, 1948. 168 pages.

Philosophy and practice in nursery education are presented in this volume which is comprehensive in its scope and profound in its exploration of meanings. Beginning with the laying down of principles, and a review of the history and need for nursery education, the volume proceeds to a careful analysis of the methods of the nursery center.

Procedures of admission, program, parent relations, administration, staffing and financing are discussed fully in practical, realistic terms. The development of the nursery school curriculum is not the particular purpose of this study and is dealt with in the fine bibliography. Frankly focused toward a broader community understanding of the nursery center, the book achieves its purposes of informing, interesting and even challenging its readers to study and support of this new "baby" in the world of education.

Charlotte Biber Winsor

192 THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 13, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1913, AND JULY 2, 1940

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published monthly, September-May at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1940

State of New York }
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Dan W. Dodson, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily, weekly, semi-weekly or tri-weekly newspaper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the acts of March 3, 1913, and July 2, 1940 (section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1 That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Inc. 157 West 14th St., N.Y.C.
Editor, E. George Payne 157 West 14th St., N.Y.C.
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DAN W. DODSON, Managing Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1940

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Commission expires March 1950

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol. 23

December 1949

No. 4

EDITORIAL

No thoughtful citizen can fail to be disturbed over the emotional excesses generated by the current controversy over the suitability of comics as reading for children. That the community should concern itself with the developmental experiences of its children is right and necessary. That when concerned it should act is also right and necessary.

But when action takes the form of unreasoning condemnation, the setting up of scapegoats, the burning of books and cries for censorship — however much they may be in the American tradition of violent controversy — there is cause for alarm. Censorship strikes at the very heart of the free discussion which is the life blood of democracy. Scapegoats notoriously divert us from facing up to, and working to solve our problems of social living.

The editors of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY, in presenting this issue, hope it will contribute to bringing the controversy over the comics back into the realm of constructive discussion. Do the comics present a clear and present danger that justifies abridgement of the first amendment? Frederic Thrasher speaks to this question. Does self-regulation, as an alternative to censorship, hold promise of solving the problem of undesirable comics?

Henry Schultz gives a sane answer

How large a part of the community is concerned? Harvey Zorbaugh answers this question by reporting on a study of Adult Attitudes Toward the Comics recently completed by the New York University School of Education's Department of Communications in Education. What are the responsibilities of teacher and parent, and how can they meet them? Josette Frank provides provocative answers. Is the solution, perhaps, in finding more constructive use for the comics? Katherine Hutchinson shows one way in which this can be done.

H. Z.

THE COMICS AND DELINQUENCY: CAUSE OR SCAPEGOAT

Frederic M. Thrasher

Expert students of mankind have always tried to explain human behavior in terms of their own specialities. This is particularly true in the field of adult and juvenile delinquency, where anthropologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists have been guilty of a long series of erroneous attempts to attribute crime and delinquency to some one human trait or environmental condition. These monistic theories of delinquency causation illustrate a particularistic fallacy which stems from professional bias or a lack of scientific logic and research, or both.

Most recent error of this type is that of psychiatrist Fredric Wertham who claims in effect that the comics are an important factor in causing juvenile delinquency.¹ This extreme position which is not substantiated by any valid research, is not only contrary to considerable current psychiatric thinking, but also disregards tested research procedures which have discredited numerous previous monistic theories of delinquency causation. Wertham's dark picture of the influence of comics is more forensic than it is scientific and illustrates a dangerous habit of projecting our social frustrations upon some specific trait of our culture, which becomes a sort of "whipping boy" for our failure to control the whole gamut of social breakdown.²

¹ Wertham, who is a prominent New York psychiatrist, has stated his position on the comics in the following articles: "The Comics—Very Funny!" *Saturday Review of Literature*, May 29, 1948, "What Your Children Think Of You," *This Week*, October 10, 1948, "Are Comic Books Harmful to Children?" *Friends Intelligence*, July 10, 1948, "The Betrayal of Childhood Comic Books," *Proceeding of the Annual Conference of Correction*, American Prison Association, 1948, "The Psychopathology of Comic Books," (a symposium) *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, July 1948, and "What Are Comic Books?" (a study course for parents), *National Parent Teacher Magazine*, March, 1949.

² Cf. Katherine Clifford, "Common Sense About Comics," *Parents Magazine*, October, 1948.

One of the earliest of these monstrous errors was that of Lombroso and his followers of the so called Italian School of Criminology,³ who asserted there was a born criminal type with certain "stigmata of degeneracy" which enabled the criminal to be distinguished from normal people. These included such characteristics as a cleft palate, a low retreating forehead, a peculiarly shaped head, nose, or jaw, large protruding ears, low sensitivity to pain, lack of beard in males, obtuseness of the senses, etc. These "criminal traits" were explained as due to a reversion to a hypothetical "savage" (atavism), or to physical and nervous deterioration. Accompanying the physical divergencies in some unexplained manner always went a predisposition to delinquency. Exponents of this theory in its extreme form have even claimed that different types of criminals exhibit different sets of physical anomalies.

More rigorous investigators shortly discredited this naive theory. One of these was England's distinguished Charles Goring. He rejected Lombroso's conclusion because it was based upon an inadequate sample of the criminal population, chiefly the inmates of an institution for the criminally insane. As Von Hentig succinctly points out, only "minute sections of crime are found in court or in prison, a certain proportion in institutions for the criminally insane. Crime's most numerous and dangerous representatives are never seen by a judge, a warden, or a psychiatrist."⁴ No valid conclusion concerning delinquents and criminals as a whole can be drawn from the small proportion of their number appearing in clinics or found in institutions.

Goring rejected Lombroso's theory further, and more importantly, because it ignored the possibility that the traits

³ Lombroso first stated his theory in a brochure in 1876 and this was expanded later into three volumes. See Cesare Lombroso, *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies*. Translated by H. P. Horton. Boston: Little, Brown, 1911.

⁴ Hans Von Hentig, *Crime: Causes and Conditions*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1947.

to which delinquent and criminal behavior were attributed might be as prevalent among law abiding citizens. Goring was an exponent of the elementary scientific technique which insists on the use of a control group, a simple yet essential statistical maneuver designed to protect the scholar and the public against fallacious conclusions about human behavior. The use of the control group as applied to the study of the causation of delinquency simply means that the investigator must make sure the trait or condition to which he ascribes delinquency is not as prevalent among non-delinquents as among delinquents.

When Goring studied not merely the inmates of prisons, but a representative sampling of the unincarcerated population, he found "stigmata" to occur no more frequently among prisoners than among people at large.⁸ Lombroso's theory was knocked into a cocked hat.

Students of delinquent and criminal behavior were slow, however, to heed the lesson implicit in the collapse of Lombroso's theory. Continuing to seek a simple monistic explanation of anti-social behavior, repeating Lombroso's errors of inadequate sampling and lack of control, they have attributed the bulk of delinquency to mental deficiency, to focal infections, to lesions of the nervous system, to psychopathic personality, to poverty, to broken homes, to one after another of the characteristics of the delinquent or his environment.

More rigorous sampling and control have forced the abandonment of these one-sided explanations. The assertion of Tredgold and Goddard,⁹ for example, that mental deficiency is the major cause of anti-social behavior was based on institutional samples of the delinquent population. It should be reiterated that such samples are highly selective, since more intelligent criminals are less frequent-

⁸ Charles Goring, *The English Convict*, London: Stationary Office, 1913.

⁹ A. F. Tredgold, *Mental Deficiency*, New York: William Wood, 1914, and Henry H. Goddard, *Feeble-mindedness: Its Causes and Consequences*, New York: Macmillan, 1914.

ly found in institutions or other groups available for testing. Indeed adequately controlled studies, such as those of Carl Murchison,⁷ E. A. Doll⁸ and Simon H. Tulchin⁹ have conclusively shown that low intelligence of itself is not an important factor in producing delinquency.

Sociological studies have shown marked correlations between poverty and delinquency. But again the sample is selective, biased by the fact that official statistics fail to record the large number of delinquencies committed in more prosperous sections of the community; and again one is given pause by the necessity of accounting for the large numbers of children in the most dire economic need who do not become delinquent. As for broken homes, the studies of Slawson¹⁰ in New York, and of Shaw and McKay¹¹ in Chicago, have shown that the broken home in itself cannot be considered a very significant factor in explaining delinquency.

More recently it has been asserted that motion pictures are a major cause of delinquency. The controversy over the truth of this assertion closely parallels the present controversy over the role of comic books in the causation of anti-social behavior. The Motion Picture Research Council, with the aid of a research grant from the Payne Fund, and in cooperation with a number of universities, undertook a series of objective studies of the question.¹²

⁷ "American White Criminal Intelligence," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, August and November, 1924

⁸ "The Comparative Intelligence of Prisoners," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, August 1920

⁹ Simon H. Tulchin, *Intelligence and Crime*. Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1939.

¹⁰ John Slawson, *The Delinquent Boy*. Boston Badger, 1926

¹¹ Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*. Washington. Government Printing Office, 1931, pp. 261-284.

¹² For a history of this controversy, the results of the Payne Fund Studies, and a critical evaluation of them, see Henry James Forman, *Our Movie Made Children*, New York, Macmillan, 1933; Martin Quigley, *Decency in Motion Pictures*, New York, Macmillan, 1935; Frederic M. Thrasher, "Education Versus Censorship," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, January, 1940, W. W. Charters, *Motion Pictures and Youth. A Summary*, New York, Mac-

The most conclusive of these studies as it bears upon the relationship of the motion picture to the causation of delinquency, was conducted at New York University by Paul G. Cressey.¹⁸ Cressey's findings, based upon thousands of observations under controlled conditions, showed that the movies did not have any significant effect in producing delinquency in the crime breeding area in which the study was made. Cressey readily admits that boys and young men, when suitably predisposed, sometimes have utilized techniques of crime seen in the movies, have used gangster films to stimulate susceptible ones toward crime, and on occasion in their own criminal actions have idealized themselves imaginatively as possessing as attractive a personality, or as engaging in as romantic activities as gangster screen heroes.¹⁴ Cressey is careful to follow this statement, however, with the explanation that he does not mean that movies have been shown to be a "cause" of crime, that he does not mean that "good" boys are enticed into crime by gangster films, that he merely means what he has said that boys and young men responsive to crime portrayals have been found on occasion to use ideas and techniques seen at the movies. This type of analytical thinking is largely absent from the findings of such critics of the comics as Fredric Wertham.

Furthermore Cressey found that urban patterns of vice, gambling, racketeering and gangsterism, including large components of violence, were so familiar to the children of this district that movies seemed rather tame by comparison. That this section of New York is typical of the thousands of other delinquency areas in American cities cannot be

ullan, 1933, Mortimer J. Adler, *Art and Prudence*, New York, Longman's Greene, 1937.

¹⁸ Paul G. Cressey, *The Role of the Motion Picture in an Interstitial Area* (Unpublished manuscript on deposit in the New York University library.)

¹⁴ Paul G. Cressey, "The Motion Picture Experience as Modified by Social Background and Personality," *American Sociological Review*, August 1938, p. 517.

doubted.¹⁵ It is from these areas that the large proportion of official juvenile delinquents come and there is no reason to doubt that the role of the motion picture in producing delinquency is any greater in these areas in other American cities than it was found to be in New York.

The behavior scientist has learned that the causes of anti-social behavior — like the causes of all behavior — are complex. Delinquent and criminal careers can be understood only in terms of the interaction of many factors. Evaluation of their relative influence demands research based upon the most rigorous sampling and control, and requires the utmost objectivity in the interpretation of the data the research yields.

Let us now turn to researches dealing with the influence of comics. After surveying the literature we are forced to conclude such researches do not exist.¹⁶ The current alarm over the evil effects of comic books rests upon nothing more substantial than the opinion and conjecture of a number of psychiatrists, lawyers and judges. True, there is a large broadside of criticism from parents who resent the comics in one way or another or whose adult tastes are offended by comics stories and the ways in which they are presented. These are the same types of parents who were once offended by the dime novel, and later by the movies and the radio. Each of these scapegoats for parental and community failures to educate and socialize children has in turn given way to another as reformers have had their interest diverted to new fields in the face of facts that could not be gainsaid.

¹⁵ See Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, "Report on Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency," *National Commission on Law Observation and Enforcement*, (No. 13, Vol. II), Washington: Government Printing Office, —, *Delinquency Areas* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929, and —, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

¹⁶ There is the possible exception of the study of Katherine M. Wolfe and Marjorie Fiske at Columbia University "The Children Talk About Comics," published by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton, *Communications Research 1948-1949*, New York: Harper, 1949. This study, which was based on a small number of cases, was inconclusive.

As an example, let us examine the position of the leading crusader against the comics, New York's psychiatrist Fredric Wertham.¹⁷ Wertham's attitude and arguments in condemning the comics are very similar to those of the earlier critics of the movies. Reduced to their simplest terms, these arguments are that since the movies and comics are enjoyed by a very large number of children, and since a large component of their movie and comics diet is made up of crime, violence, horror, and sex, the children who see the movies and read the comics are necessarily stimulated to the performance of delinquent acts, cruelty, violence and undesirable sex behavior. This of course is the same type of argument that has been one of the major fallacies of all our monistic errors in attempting to explain crime and delinquency in the past.

Wertham's reasoning is a bit more complicated and pretentious. He disclaims the belief that delinquency can have a single cause and claims to adhere to the concept of multiple and complex causation of delinquent behavior. But in effect his arguments do attribute a large portion of juvenile offenses to the comics. More pointedly he maintains that the comics in a complex maze of other factors are frequently the precipitating cause of delinquency.

We may criticize Wertham's conclusions on many grounds, but the major weakness of his position is that it is not supported by research data. His findings presented for the first time in *Collier's* magazine¹⁸ are said to be the result of two years' study conducted by him and eleven other psychiatrists and social workers at the Lafaigue Clinic in New York's Negro Harlem. In this article the claim is made that numerous children both delinquent and non-delinquent, rich and poor were studied and that the results of these studies led to the major conclusion that the

¹⁷ Wertham's position was stated in some detail in an article by Judith Crist, "Horror in the Nursery," *Collier's*, March 27, 1948. See also material by Wertham cited earlier in this article.

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 22, 23, 95-97.

effect of comic books is "definitely and completely harmful."

That Wertham's approach to his problem is forensic rather than scientific is illustrated by the way in which his findings are presented in the *Collier's* article. Countering his claim that the effect of comics is definitely and completely harmful are statements in this article that comics do not automatically cause delinquency in every reader, that comic books alone cannot cause a child to become delinquent, that there are books of well-known comics which "make life better by making it merrier" and others "which make it clear even to the dumbest mind, that crime never pays," and that there are "seemingly harmless comic books," but "nobody knows with any degree of exactness what their percentage is."

A further illustration of this forensic technique is the way in which he introduces extraneous facts and statements which by implication he links with his thesis that the comics are a major factor in causing delinquency and emotional disturbance in children. An example is New York's Deputy Police Commissioner Nolan's statement that "the anti-social acts of the juvenile delinquents of today are in many instances more serious and even of a more violent nature than those committed by youth in the past." Even if this statement could be proved, there is not the slightest evidence, except Wertham's unsupported opinion, that the increase is due to the reading of comic books. Wertham then cites a series of sensational child crimes headlined in the press (not his own cases), which he imputes to the comics without any evidence at all that the juvenile offenders involved ever read or were interested in comic books. A final example of the improper use of extraneous material is the statement in the *Collier's* article that "Children's Court records show that delinquent youngsters are almost five years retarded in reading ability," and Wertham is quoted as saying that "Children who don't read well tend to delinquency." These statements are unsupported, but

even if true, there is not a scintilla of evidence that the reading retardation or disability of delinquents is due to reading comics. It is quite likely that the percentage of reading disability among delinquents was equally high or higher before the comic book was invented. As a matter of fact there are in this article no data which could be accepted by any person trained in research without documentation.

Wertham asserts that the content of the comics is almost universally one of crime, violence, horror, "emphasis of sexual characteristics" which "can lead to erotic fixations of all kinds," and "sadistic-masochistic mixture of pleasure and violence." Of the millions of comic books which Wertham claims deal with crime and brutality, he is content to rest his case on the selection of a few extreme and offensive examples which he makes no attempt to prove are typical. No systematic inventory of comic book content is presented, such as that compiled by Edgar Dale for the movies in 1935.¹⁰ Without such an inventory these conjectures are prejudiced and worthless.

Wertham's major claims rest only on a few selected and extreme cases of children's deviate behavior where it is said the comics have played an important role in producing delinquency. Although Wertham has claimed in his various writings that he and his associates have studied thousands of children, normal and deviate, rich and poor, gifted and mediocre, he presents no statistical summary of his investigations. He makes no attempt to substantiate that his illustrative cases are in any way typical of all delinquents who read comics, or that the delinquents who do not read the comics do not commit similar types of offenses. He claims to use control groups, (non-delinquents) but he does not describe these controls, how they were set up, how they were equated with his experimental groups (delinquents) to assure that the difference in incidence of comic

¹⁰ Edgar Dale, *The Content of Motion Pictures* New York: MacMillan, 1935.

book-reading, if any, was due to anything more than a selective process brought about by the particular area in which he was working.

The way in which Wertham and his associates studied his cases is also open to question. The development of case-studies as scientific data is a highly technical procedure and is based on long experience among social scientists in anthropology, psychology, and sociology.²⁰ An adequate case study, which involves much more than a few interviews, gives a complete perspective of the subject's biological, psychological and social development, for only in this manner can a single factor such as comic book-reading be put in its proper place in the interacting complex of behavior-determining factors.²¹ On the basis of the materials presented by Wertham with reference to children's experience with the comics, it is doubtful if he has met the requirements of scientific case-study or the criteria for handling life history materials. He does not describe his techniques or show how they were set up so as to safeguard his findings against invalid conclusions.

Were the subjects he interviewed studied with the same meticulous care employed by a Healy or a Shaw? Did he get complete data on them? Were the circumstances surrounding the interviews such that the subjects gave honest answers to the questions asked by Wertham and his associates? Were safeguards set up to control individual differences in the interview techniques of the eleven different investigators? Even if it is assumed that such subjects will

²⁰ See Paul Horst, et al., *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* New York Social Science Research Council, 1941, especially "The Prediction of Individual Behavior from Case Studies," pp. 183-249, Gordon W. Allport, *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science*, New York Social Science Research Council, 1942; and Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn and Robert Angell, *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology* New York Social Science Research Council, 1945.

²¹ Examples of case studies are to be found in the earlier studies of William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner in *Case Studies*, Series I, Nos. 1-20, Boston Judge Baker Foundation, 1923, and in the more complete studies of Clifford R. Shaw, et al., *The Jackroller, The Natural History of a Delinquent Career*, and *Brothers in Crime*, Chicago University of Chicago, 1930, 1931, and 1938.

or can give a correct picture of the role of the comics in their lives, how are we to be sure that the interviewers did not ask leading questions and stimulate the responses of the subjects to reply along a preordained line of thinking or imagining? Unless and until Wertham's methods of investigation are described, and demonstrated to be valid and reliable, the scientific worker in this field can place no credence in his results.

In conclusion, it may be said that no acceptable evidence has been produced by Wertham or anyone else for the conclusion that the reading of comic magazines has, or has not a significant relation to delinquent behavior. Even the editors of *Collier's* in which Wertham's results were first presented are doubtful of his conclusions, as is indicated by a later editorial appearing in that magazine in which they say:

"Juvenile delinquency is the product of pent-up frustrations, stored up resentments and bottled up fears. It is not the product of cartoons or captions. But the comics are a handy, obvious uncomplicated scapegoat. If the adults who crusade against them would only get as steamed up over such basic causes of delinquency as parental ignorance, indifference and cruelty, they might discover that the comics are no more a menace than *Treasure Island* or *Jack the Giant Killer*."²²

The danger inherent in the present controversy, in which forensic argument replaces research, is that having set up a satisfactory "whipping boy" in comic magazines, we fail to face and accept our responsibility as parents and as citizens for providing our children with more healthful family and community living, a more constructive developmental experience.

²² "The Old Folks Take it Harder than Junior," *Collier's*, July 9, 1949

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SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOR TEACHERS AND PARENTS

Josette Frank

Are comics bad for children? Answers to this question—from psychiatrists, psychologists, educators, librarians, and parents—run the whole gamut from a positive “yes” to an unequivocal “no”, with many ramifications and gradations in between. The wide range of opinion is astonishing—but even more so is the degree of emotion which seems to be engendered by it.

The comics are both accused and defended on various counts by various specialists. Roughly these might be enumerated as follows:

There is the question of literary taste and values. Do comics prevent, or do they promote, good reading tastes and interests in young readers? Librarians, to whom we may look for guidance on this point, are not agreed. Some librarians maintain that they debauch children's literary tastes and encourage low and lazy reading habits. Without the seduction of the comics, they believe, children would read more and better books. This point of view is challenged by other librarians who report that many of their best juvenile customers, voracious readers of good books, are also comics fans. They find, too, that many a reluctant reader is led to reading books via the comics.

Then there is the question of reading ability. Does reading comics keep children from learning to read? Here we might look to the teachers for an answer, yet we find again a wide divergence of opinion. Some teachers are convinced that the current deplorable figures on children's reading ability can be blamed, at least in part, on the “effortless” picture reading of the comics. Other teachers equally concerned with reading skills, cite from their own experience

instances in which children's reading ability has been achieved, or noticeably improved, through the medium of comics. They point out the wide range of vocabulary with which young readers become familiar in the comics. Indeed some teachers report excellent results from the classroom use of comics as reading aids.

There is the question, too, of aesthetics. Are the comics poor art and bad taste, and will they therefore stunt the children's appreciation of good art? Here, too, we find detractors and defenders. There are those who see in the comics only ugliness — bad drawing, garish color, and no artistic merit. There are others, equally discerning and concerned with aesthetics, who view comics as a valid art form with values of its own. To them good comics-drawing represents highly cultivated art in a special field. One art teacher deplors the tendency of young children to ape the comics in their spontaneous drawing. Another teacher points out that this form or formula was the children's first untutored approach to drawing long before the comics became a universal language.

The question of eyestrain also comes under consideration. Are comics, with their irregular lettering and scatterry makeup, hard on young eyes? We have no scientific data on this point. We do have statements by some ophthalmologists that they see many children suffering from eyestrain, which is attributable, they feel sure, to the reading of comics. Others counter that the print in the classic books with which most of us spent many hours in our childhood was much worse; and that comics, because of their shorter lines and smaller blocks of reading matter, are actually easier on the eyes than the solid pages of many books. Since almost all children read comics today, and not all of their parents read the ill-printed classics of yesteryear, these opinions would seem difficult to verify, except through a

carefully controlled study. A study of "Legibility in Comic Books" reported in *The Sight-Saving Review* (1942), noted wide differences among comics magazines in respect to size and legibility of lettering, but concluded that "most comic books represent a great step backward in the matter of safeguarding the eyesight of children."

Of deeper concern, and much more difficult to define, is the question of the emotional impact of the comics. Do they, with their emphasis on violence and the hit-bang method of settling affairs, over-stimulate children's aggressions, cause tension and fears, and even overt acts of violence? Again we find a wide divergence of opinion among people who work with children on the level of their emotional needs. In a survey of psychiatric opinion in *Child Study* (Spring 1948) the variety of response to this question was marked.

"Comics of the 'thriller' variety," said Dr. Augusta Alpert, "make aggression too easy and too colorful, and in that way threaten the eruption of the child's own, precariously controlled aggressive impulses. Fear inevitably follows in their wake. If these experiences were *safety valves*, in the form of vicarious discharge of aggression, nightmares following them would not be so frequently reported."

At the other extreme we find Dr. Lammetta Bender's view that "Much of what children find in the comics deals with their own unconscious fantasies. It is possible (though I cannot say this with certainty) that they need this material as a pattern for their dreams, to give them content with which to dream out their problems. As in radio serials, the continued stories give them confidence. For here are patterns of life that can be trusted to come out all right."

"Comics constitute experience with activity, motility, movement. Their heroes overcome time and space. This gives children a sense of release rather than fear. Sound effects — in the comics as well as on the radio — horses'

hooves coming and going, and other sounds denoting motion, are important in the sensory education of our children .”

There was general agreement, however, among those interviewed, that differences among children must be considered in relation to comics. “There is a varying degree of tolerance for excitement,” said Dr. David M. Levy, “and this tolerance varies also with age. The same experience that is tolerable at seven may be unendurable at three. Regardless of age some children, for reasons still unknown, can stand very little excitement. For them, excitement must be carefully measured. Some children on the other hand crave excitement and become addicts, especially to radio and comics. There are many reasons for this kind of escape. In the main there is an impoverishment of interest in intellectual and social activities.”

Differences in the way children read comics, as well as in their reactions to them, were seen as especially significant by Dr. Katharine Wolf. On the basis of a study of children's comics-reading she emphasized the impossibility of making any “all or nothing” statement concerning the relation between comics and children's fears, and pointed out that children go through developmental stages in their reading. “There are,” she said, “two different patterns of comics reading. *Moderate* readers use the comics for identification with the heroes. As they grow up and realize that perfection is unattainable, they are critical of the unrealistic perfection of the comic-book hero, and their own development weans them from comics reading. In these children comics arouse neither nightmares nor aggression.

“*Excessive* readers on the other hand (and ‘excessive’ here refers not to quantity of reading but to intensity of absorption) do not identify with the comics hero. For them he symbolizes a deity or savior to whom they delegate all responsibility. While this almighty figure, by relieving

them from responsibility does relieve them from anxiety, he also creates anxiety merely by his all-powerful existence."

The question of *quantity* in comics-reading was stressed by several of those interviewed. Excessive preoccupation with comics reading may be a danger signal, but it may also bring its own dangers. The continuous bombardment of storied violence may, said Dr. Alpert, "either activate a child's guilt on account of his own hostile impulses, or replace guilt with an under-developed conscience, depending on the emotional make-up of the child."

Closely related to these problems is the question whether comics are a factor in juvenile delinquency. Do comics cause children to commit crimes? On this question opinions are vehement on both sides. A number of juvenile court judges have cited the evidence of children brought before them who declared that they had "done it because they read it in the comics." Such evidence is discounted by others — criminologists and psychologists — who point out that children in trouble can hardly be expected to understand their own behavior, much less to explain it. The causes of behavior, they insist, are deep and complex. "In studying the causes of behavior problems of children for many years," wrote Dr. Mandel Sherman, Professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Chicago, "I have never seen one instance of a child whose behavior disturbance originated in the reading of comic books, not even a case of a delinquent whose behavior was exaggerated by such readings."*

There remains the question whether comics are a waste of time: Do they keep children from more worth-while activities and interests? On this question parents, who are

* Quoted from "Comics, Radio, Movies—and Children". Pamphlet Publication No. 148 of the Public Affairs Committee, 1949.

the mentors of their children's leisure time, also are not in agreement. Some, eager to have their children profit by the wealth of cultural opportunities and interests that are available to them today, deplore the time they spend on comics when "there is so little time for them to read and do the many other things." Some, however, impressed by the children's evident pleasure and absorption in their comics, believe that the youngsters may be finding therein satisfactions which make them "worth-while," measured in the children's own terms. If this is so, they argue, then time spent in reading comics cannot be called "wasted."

With all this difference of informed opinion among authorities in the fields most concerned, and with no specific data on which to base our answers to these questions, how, then, shall parents guide themselves and their children in the management of comics-reading? Probably each of us will have to sift and evaluate — accept, reject, or adapt — these various opinions according to our own feelings about our own children, our philosophy concerning their education, and our understanding of their particular needs and interests.

Some parents ardently wish to keep their children "protected" from contacts with art, literature, or ideas which by their standards, are not beautiful and good. They will find it difficult — yes, impossible, — to isolate growing boys and girls from the common experiences of their contemporaries. It is not, as some suggest, just because the comics are *vogue* among today's youngsters. Nor is it due to the laissez-faire attitude that "comics are here and what can we do about them?" One will find it hard to shut out these comics largely because their appeal is more general and more real than many of us want to believe. The children have tested comics by their own standards and found them good.

We do not altogether know what gives comics such uni-

versal appeal. Perhaps there is a common need for what the comics offer, an element which our children are not finding elsewhere. In any case, we have discovered that isolation and prohibition don't work. Or, if they do work, it is not in the way we have planned. The forbidding parent may find that he has built a barrier of resentment between himself and his child, perhaps much more hurtful than any comics could be.

It is not by isolation but by a wide range of contact with many things — the good and the bad, the beautiful and the ugly, the true and the spurious — that children develop taste and discrimination. We can help them to sort out what they read, to recognize differences, to grow in appreciation of real values. In the long run their standards may not, perhaps, be the same as ours. In any case they will be freely arrived at through sampling and experience.

There are, of course, adults who read comics, too. Some millions of them. And many of these adults are also parents. From these parents the principal criticism has to do with their children's choices:

"I love the really funny ones myself, like *Blondie*, or *Mutt and Jeff*," they say, "but that fantastic *Bat-Man* stuff! And *Superman*! What do they get out of that?"

The answer is, of course, that each of us looks to reading for certain satisfactions — we may want humor or we may want adventure or mystery or fantasy or romance. Many of our "best minds" have been addicted to murder mysteries. Children have a right to their preferences, too, within the limits of what is suitable and not harmful.

As parents, individually, each of us will naturally be guided by the needs of our own particular boy or girl. A child who reads comics among other things, whose way of life includes wholesome activities, fun and friends, may need to be helped to a sense of values and proportion in allotting his time and interests. He may have to be guided

in budgeting his time among the many things to be done—homework, family chores, outdoor play. A child, however, who reads comics excessively or exclusively, and little else, who finds in this reading, or in any reading, escape from real activities and people, surely needs much deeper inquiry into his problems. One may even, if one is alert and skilful, use his comics to gain insight into his difficulties, and help him to talk them out. Discussing his comics heroes and his feelings about them may reveal much to a sympathetic and understanding listener.

Most children, it seems, take the violent happenings and fantastic feats of the comics for what they are — stories on a printed page. Heroes and villains, and their daring or fantastic or even wicked deeds, offer the young reader satisfactions according to his needs: for some, escape from the humdrum of uneventful days; for others, perhaps, a delicious sense of identification with super prowess or cleverness. Where, however, we find that this reading results in fears or tension we must surely step in and take a hand. It often happens that tense and jittery children are particularly drawn to "thrillers", but where the sequence is reversed, and we are convinced that a child's tensions result from this reading, it would certainly seem necessary, for a time at least, to supervise this child's choices in his comics-reading, as well as all the other experiences to which he is exposed.

Lastly, it goes without saying that a child who reacts to comics, or to anything else, with acts of violence or delinquent behavior, needs help entirely beside and beyond any scrutiny of his comics-reading. Whether his actions follow a pattern of something he has read, in the comics or in the works of Shakespeare, we need to search deeply for the springs of his behavior — not merely for something to blame it on.

In a world in which so many influences play upon children, within or without parental control, it is the business

of all of us who are concerned with children to examine and evaluate these influences. Comics, no less than books, movies, radio, television and newspapers, make up a sizeable part of our children's environment. We need to know what is in these comics our children are reading so avidly. We need to understand their appeal to our children and their place in the children's lives.

Our sympathetic interest and concern will help our children to evaluate their comics, too; help them learn to discriminate among comics magazines, to choose what is good and discard what is not. In the last analysis it is their selectivity and their standards which must, in turn influence the comics, whose content and standards of quality and taste are shaped to meet the customers' demand. It is up to us to educate their customers to ask for the best. Furthermore, if we accept the unmistakable evidence that the comics' appeal to young readers, we will learn to make use of this new language-art for our children's education, entertainment, and emotional well-being.

For all children, our own and other people's, we will want to keep open all the avenues to wider experiences—to culture, to varied fields of learning, to play and social relationships. As adults responsible for the welfare of children, we will want to see to it that our children are well provided with opportunities and materials that will challenge their interest and broaden their horizons; opportunities for adventure, for fun, for trying themselves out. As a community, too, we will want to make sure that adequate places and opportunities for play, recreation and education are available to all our children. Comics-reading can constitute one — but one among many — ways of satisfying these perfectly normal needs of childhood.

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CENSORSHIP OR SELF REGULATION?

Henry E. Schultz

In October of 1940 Sterling North writing for *Childhood Education* in an article titled "A Major Disgrace" characterized the comic book as "sadistic drivel." This attack seems to have been the first major criticism of the comic book to make any significant impression upon public opinion.

Sprung from the womb of the comic strip in 1936 the comic book was natural heir to the jaundiced eye of the purist in educational circles, the fundamentalist in the teaching of elementary English. It remained for the widely quoted North polemic to propel the controversy out of the academic and into the public arena. Others took up the cry, but the momentous events that crowded upon the American scene incident to World War II relegated the attack on comics to a secondary and almost forgotten role.

During the war years the mothers of the nation were engaged in compelling war related activities and as a consequence occasional warnings against the "evil effects" of the comic book went comparatively unheeded. The recent era of hysteria can be directly attributed to the activity of Dr. Fredric Wertham, a New York City psychiatrist, who since the close of the war has conducted a widely publicized and sensational crusade designed to rid the nation of the "menace" of the comic book.

Writing vigorously and emotionally, if not scientifically and logically, in widely read and highly respected journals such as the *Saturday Review of Literature*, *Collier's*, *Reader's Digest* and the magazine of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Dr. Wertham has succeeded in frightening parents, teachers and public officials into the belief that no matter the cost the comic must go. Dr. Wertham has supplemented his articles with addresses be-

fore groups and organizations, radio and television appearances, and newspaper interviews all designed to stimulate action against comics. The fact that the consensus of psychiatric opinion is at variance with Dr. Weitham on the possible effects of comics upon adolescent behavior failed to still his stident call for action

Women's clubs, churches and civic organizations took up the cry and finally the great National Congress of Parents and Teachers with a membership of six million made the drive against comics a cornerstone of its national program

In the meantime various sections of the more sensational press, alert to the nuances of public interest, began to feature as frontpage news and subject of editorial comment not only the activities of Dr. Weitham, but of the organizations which had guded themselves for battle. Sorry instances of juvenile misbehavior, crimes major and minor, scrapes some petty some important, which had normally received little or no newspaper space were headlined and the comic book held to be to blame. Every youngster in difficulty was described as a comic book addict

In towns, villages and municipalities throughout the country, sheriffs, prosecutors, mayors, councilmen and the law-makers were goaded and prodded into action and many did their best to please and appease the angry torrent which had been loosed.

Laws and ordinances, committees on legislation, censors, indeed every device to bedevil and confuse the dealer, wholesaler and publisher of comics, were created and enacted — books were banned, and finally to cap the climax, mass burnings of comic books were publicly held in several communities.

It was in this climate of public opinion and mass hysteria that the legislators of forty-five states began to assemble in the fall of 1948. It was generally predicted that more

than half of the states would enact legislation banning the sale of comic books.

Already dozens of towns, villages and municipalities had taken some action — often hasty ill considered action. In almost one hundred communities some form of organized suppression of comic books appeared. Ordinances were presented for adoption in Wheeling, West Virginia; Sarasota, Florida, Cleveland, Ohio; New Orleans, La; Monroe, Michigan, Sacramento, California; Quincy, Mass; Knoxville, Tennessee, Brenton, Washington, Newport, Kentucky, Nashville, Tennessee, Loraine, Ohio; San Francisco, California, Dubuque, Iowa; and many, too many others. In other communities where legislation was not attempted, committees representing organizations and church groups threatened newsdealers with boycott, and with the support of public officials embarked on programs to rid their states of "undesirable literature."

The ordinances which were introduced and some which succeeded in passage ran the gamut of legislative imagination. Some forbade all books, magazines or periodicals which "depict excessive cruelty, horror, bloodshed, mutilation or sadism" or "depict as being attractive, successful or worthy of imitation, any persons committing any crime or misdemeanor whatsoever" or which "prominently featured any account of crime" or was devoted to "criminal news or reports" or "devoted to stories or acts or deeds of bloodshed, lust or crime." Others made it unlawful to distribute any comic or other periodical which contained matters "injurious to the public health, safety and morals".

Some limited the restraint to sale or display to children under eighteen. Others set up boards or commissions empowered to devise codes or standards with authority to ban from circulation publications which in their judgment did not pass muster.

Often the Sheriff or policehead was authorized to determine what publications were undesirable and in most cases

the ordinance included threat of substantial fine and imprisonment for violation. To the dealer faced with the prospect of reading literally hundreds of periodicals delivered to him each month the ordinances were not only burdensome and unfair but unrealistic and impractical. To the publishers the problem of meeting the differing standards and codes resulting from the varying view points of individuals in widely scattered communities was formidable. Obviously, with the best of intent a publisher would find it difficult, if not impossible, to satisfy the mosaic of opinion expressed by these committees, boards and censors and still attain reasonable national circulation.

At the height of the hysteria the General Federation of Women's Clubs invited leading national organizations to assemble in Washington with representatives of comics, motion pictures, radio and television for a series of discussions designed to bring into more critical focus the differing view points and varied programs of each of these groups. The intensity of interest in the problem was indicated by the presence of delegates from the American Association of University Women, American Bar Association, American Legion, Boy Scouts of America, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 4H Clubs, Girl Scouts of America, National Board of the YWCA, National Councils of Catholic Men and Women, National Conference of Parents and Teachers, National Education Association, National Jewish Welfare Board, U. S. Office of Education, and many others.

Out of this meeting came the first breath of sanity and reason — the first recognition that bannings and burnings were not the solution. The summary report of the meeting contained these significant paragraphs:

Radio, comics magazines, books, newspapers and movies are important media for presenting facts and ideas, manners and attitudes to the general public. Television combining elements of radio and motion pictures, gives promise of being an unusually potent force

in the family circle. The programs and productions of all these media reinforce or rival the training of youth in the family, church, playground, school and youth organizations. They are a large factor in conditioning our cultural pattern today. Many parents, professional workers and public officials the nation over are deeply concerned about the quality of some programs and productions which children and young people are now patronizing.

Socially responsible leaders in these industries have attempted to encourage self-regulation as to standards for programs intended for children and youth. Many citizens' organizations, recognizing the cultural importance of these media, believe that they share with these industries responsibility for encouraging better programs for youth. While they appreciate the need of these industries to make money, they are convinced that in a nation culturally sound at the core artistic products with socially desirable appeal can both secure buyers and produce profits. As consumers, they can help insure the success of such products by learning which they are and patronizing them.

The reaction of young people to the output of these media, as to other experiences, depends partially upon the interpretation they have learned to make of them through the teachings of the most powerful influences in their lives, their family, school, church and community associates. A chief responsibility therefore is upon home and school guidance.

Human beings can and do improve in taste, appreciation and understanding. While it has been demonstrated in many ways that comics, radio, movies and television can and do contribute to cultural improvement and provide powerful media for transmitting cultural ideals and beliefs, there is great need for further study of their influence on children's beliefs and behavior. Results of such study should be made easily available both to the media and to citizen organizations as an aid to encouraging the quality of product that contributes to the development of happy, wholesome and socially responsible boys and girls.

Other sane forces began to make themselves heard. The Civil Liberties Union, The Author's League, The National Cartoonists Society, The National Association of Magazine Publishers, and many other groups traditionally interested in the fight against censorship urged caution and expressed deep concern over the trend towards political and legislative censorship.

Thinking newspaper editors sparked into action by editorials in *Editor & Publisher* came to a fuller realization that inherent in the hysteria over comics was a serious threat to the preservation of free speech and a free press.

The Association of Comics Magazine Publishers, committed to the principle of self-regulation, has fought valiantly to secure acceptance of its program as a practical substitute for bans and legislation. It is interesting to note that the wave of censorship that threatened to engulf the industry paralleled in many ways the drive for censorship against the motion pictures of the early 20's. The pattern was much the same, the same hysteria, the same excesses, the same attempts to legislate on a problem where legislation was clearly not the answer.

In the 20's when the motion picture was under attack a bill was introduced before the Virginia legislature which forbade any woman from wearing a gown which displayed "more than three inches of her throat." In Ohio the proposed limit of décolletage was two inches; a bill introduced in the Ohio legislature aimed also to prevent the sale of any "garment which unduly displays or accentuates the lines of the female figure" and to prohibit any "female over fourteen years of age from wearing a skirt which does not reach to that part of the foot known as the instep." In 1920 Congressman Herold and Senator Gore introduced bills to prohibit the shipment of motion-picture films purporting to show or simulate the acts of ex-convicts, desperadoes, bandits, train robbers, bank robbers or outlaws.

Raymond Moley in his book, *THE HAYS OFFICE*, has summarized the argument against censorship and for self-regulation as it relates to the Motion Picture Industry in substance as follows.

While the arts demand autonomy within their own sphere, those who have in their care the welfare of some part of the community are justifiably concerned with the protection of the public from the physical or moral injury that may result from the fully asserted lib-

cities of any art. But political censorship cannot resolve these conflicting claims. It cannot because, in practice, it permits restrictive power to be exercised by politically appointed, poorly paid individuals, whose decisions are dictated chiefly by their personal predilections and prejudices; because it has resulted in a vast confusion of standards of propriety as between the states and within the same states as the personnel of the censor boards changed, because the number of motion pictures produced yearly is so great that no political censor board existed that could inspect all of them, and so much of the work of reviewing them is delegated to poorly qualified subordinates.

The only satisfactory way to protect the public interest without destroying or impairing the vitality of the motion picture, is to insist that the art control itself, that it voluntarily set up instrumentalities which will balance artistic and prudential standards at the source of production and deny to the art only those liberties which jeopardize individual character and conduct.

Since the industry itself has become aware of these considerations, it is making every effort to regulate itself. Give self-regulation a chance to prove itself!

This argument taken from the Moley book, almost verbatim, is equally applicable to the comic book problem. Martin Quigley, credited with much of the impetus which led to the establishment of the motion picture production code in his book, *DECENCY IN MOTION PICTURES*, explains that censorship was unworkable because it "introduced a condition under which the producer and the censor appeared to be playing a game, the prize going to the side which was able to outwit his opponent. Actually the scheme did not provide that the producer was to be equipped with the information necessary to enable him to know what was expected of him, nor was the censor equipped to know, with the necessary definiteness, what he wanted. There were available only a few vague, general rules which in strict conscience it would have taken a superman to apply."

The similarity of the problems was recognized in many quarters. Editorials in the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune* and many leading and influential newspa-

pers pointed out that self-regulation in the manner being fostered by the Association of Comics Magazine Publishers was the only intelligent solution. Many organizations and groups throughout the nation passed resolutions lauding the code and program of the Association.

The comics industry through the Association brought to issue the constitutionality of the local ordinance enacted by the County of Los Angeles — an ordinance which has served as a model for many of the localities where legislation was subsequently introduced. Copies of the Los Angeles ordinance were widely circulated by the Association of Municipal Law Officers and other agencies, and in many sections of the country the example set by the County of Los Angeles was quickly followed.

Amidst the welter of ordinances and laws, county attorneys and public prosecutors paid little heed to the salient fact that similar statutes had already been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court in *People v. Winters*, 68 S. Ct. 665. In that case, involving a sensational detective magazine, a New York Statute and those of twenty other states were stricken down by the Supreme Court with this significant comment: "The present case as to a vague statute abridging free speech involves the circulation of only vulgar magazines. The next may call for decision as to free expression of political views in the light of a statute, intended to punish subversive activities." The New York Statute forbade the sale of "any book, pamphlet, magazine, newspaper or other printed paper devoted to the publication, and principally made up of criminal news, police reports or accounts of criminal deeds, or pictures or stories of deeds of bloodshed, lust or crime."

The Los Angeles County Statute has already been held unconstitutional in its first test and is now before an Appellate Court. Counsel for the County in the argument before the court on appeal has admitted that included within the sweep of the ordinance are the picturization of crime in

magazines such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, in books such as *Treasure Island* and in newspaper publications. The admission is a perfect illustration of the impossibility of legislating in this field without serious impairment of basic rights and principles, and without declaring criminal acts long considered innocent.

At this writing the State Legislatures have adjourned. In all, thirty-two bills or resolutions affecting comic books were introduced in sixteen states. Twenty-seven of these bills were killed in committee but several passed one house. The New York bill passed both houses but was vetoed by Governor Dewey with the comment. "The bill before me makes little change in the language already held invalid by the highest Court in the land. It in substance makes criminal the publication of various kinds of printed material devoted to the publication and principally made up of accounts of or pictures depicting sordid bloodshed, lust or heinous acts. The addition of the adjective 'sordid' and the substitution of the words 'heinous acts' for the word 'crime' do not meet the objection asserted in the Winters case."

Slowly, but inexorably, the dangerous implications of censorship of comics have begun to permeate the minds and collective consciences of legislators and thinking people everywhere. Of all the legislation introduced in the various state legislatures, not one bill became law, although three resolutions were adopted: one in New York, setting up an investigatory committee to hold hearings to determine the need for legislation, one in North Dakota requesting enforcement of existing laws but imposing no new restrictions, and one in Nevada earnestly requesting the U. S. Congress to enact legislation relating to comics.

In Albany, capital city of the State of New York, there has recently been on display in the Education Building under the sponsorship of the State Library, an exhibit entitled "Twenty Thousand Years of Comics" arranged "to give perspective to the picture story as a means of human

expression and enjoyment and to set the background for sane thinking in the present-day discussion of comic magazines and their influence "

The *New York Herald Tribune* on Sunday, June 12, commenting editorially on the exhibit said

" .Parents worry about how to counter the age-old fascination of evil which some modern pictorialists, like some ancients, are not above capitalizing for the devil's purposes. The suggestion here is that voluntary curbs, such as those self-imposed by the Association of Comics Magazine Publishers, will come to be effective when public opinion makes itself strongly enough felt. Parents have it in their power to see (well, at least to try to see) that their children buy only the books which bear the seal of the association's approval.

"The useful message of the Albany exhibit is that 'this new, powerful technique, which is built on an interest as old as man' is 'a medium to be studied, experimented with and, above all, used' "

Much of the tumult and the shouting has died. The danger of political censorship of course remains. But we are increasingly convinced that the comic book, stident, awkward and comparatively undeveloped as a medium for the communication of ideas and information can and will be molded into a constructive force for entertainment and education in our society. We are increasingly convinced that the method by which this will be accomplished is in the realm of self-discipline or self-regulation. Thinking men and women will agree that in this direction lies a true and lasting solution. Censorship, bans, repressive legislation, and intemperate indictment of a whole industry for the sins of a few, can do naught but lead us down a dark and dangerous road from which there may be no returning.

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WHAT ADULTS THINK OF COMICS AS READING FOR CHILDREN

Harvey Zorbaugh

The Controversy

The past two years have witnessed a violent controversy over the suitability of comics as reading for children. It has raged from great cities to hamlets, from north to south, from east to west. Protagonists on either side of the controversy have marshalled their expert witnesses and debated their views in public forums, in press and magazine, and on the air. Out of the emotion generated by the debate has grown a crusade for censorship. This crusade has left in its wake the smoldering remains of fires on which comics have been burned.

From the heat and clamor of the controversy one might suppose the parents of America had arisen in a body. But how many are actually concerned? What does America really think about comics as reading for children? No one has known. During these years the Department of Communications in Education, of the School of Education of New York University has been engaged in a nationwide study of adult attitudes toward the comics.* Among the

* This study is based on some 3000 personal interviews conducted across the country among adults residing in places of 2,500 population and over. These three thousand people represent a sample of the total adult urban population geographically, by city size, age, sex, parental status and economic level.

Two orders of fact constitute the data discussed here: free opinion (volunteered), and controlled opinion (agreement or disagreement with specific statements). As an example of volunteered opinion, early in the interview respondents were asked what they thought of comics as reading for children, and their replies recorded verbatim. As an example of controlled opinion, later in the interview, respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with a series of statements such as "comics provide adventure and excitement that children need," and "comics put ideas into children's minds that are too exciting and dangerous."

In addition to the three thousand interviews, following a schedule, on which the statistical data are based, several hundred additional interviews were conducted on an "open-end" basis—that is, the interviewer sat down with the respondent and talked about the comics, for as long as the respondent was interested and the interviewer felt it profitable, letting the interview go more or less where the respondent took it. The results of the "open-end" interviews were used in constructing the schedule, and throw light on what phrases in the schedule's questions and statements meant to respondents.

questions explored has been that of adult opinion concerning the suitability of comics as reading for children. There follows a summary of this opinion. It should throw light on what the upshot of the present controversy is likely to be, on what action, if any, the public is likely to take and sustain.

Approval and Disapproval

Only a quarter of the adult public are unequivocally up in arms about comics. Their opposition is largely centered on comic magazines — a large majority consider newspaper comics entirely suitable for children.

	<i>Adult Attitudes Toward</i>	
	<i>Newspaper Comics As Reading for Children</i>	<i>Comic Magazines As Reading for Children</i>
Favorable	65%	36%
Qualified	18%	27%
Unfavorable	8%	23%
No Opinion	9%	14%

However, another quarter express serious reservations — while approving some comics, they deny others, and assert the medium should be put to better use.

Volunteered criticisms of comics fell into two main categories — that they are dangerous to the child's character and mental health, and that they are an undesirable influence on the child's cultural development.

PER CENT OF ADULTS VOLUNTEERING TYPES OF CRITICISM OF COMICS AS READING FOR CHILDREN

	<i>Newspaper Comics</i>	<i>Comic Magazines</i>
Criticisms implying comics are dangerous to the child's character and mental health (too much murder, crime, horror, unrealistic, fantastic, sensational; give wrong, bad ideas, following their examples gets children into trouble, too exciting, over stimulating, bad for morals and ideals; etc.)	17%	44%
Criticisms implying comics are undesirable influence on the child's cultural development (cheap, trashy, waste of time, poor English and art, keep the child from studying, from reading better things, etc.)	6%	15%
Other reasons	5%	6%

While both newspaper comics and comic magazines draw criticism on both scores, apprehension over their possible danger to character and mental health outweighs that over their imputed cultural undesirability by three to one (newspaper comics, 17% vs 6%; comic magazines 44% vs. 15%)

The degree to which the present controversy has brought the possible danger of comics reading to the tops of people's minds is illustrated by the fact that when asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement "comics put ideas into children's minds that are too exciting and dangerous," 44% agreed. In other words people have become sufficiently aware of the imputed dangers of children's comics reading to volunteer this belief spontaneously. When stimulated to react to the specific question, they express this opinion no more frequently.

Preponderance of concern with the possible dangers of comics reading, as opposed to concern with its cultural undesirability, is particularly characteristic of those who hold a qualified attitude toward the comics. The quarter of the adult population who are severely critical of comics for children, though more frequently criticizing them as dangerous, often criticize them as culturally undesirable as well. But the additional quarter who hold qualified opinions are overwhelmingly concerned with their imputed danger.

To be sure, when asked whether they agree or disagree with such statements as "the English used in comics is not good for children to learn," and "children waste too much time reading comics," 40% expressed agreement. But the psychological dangers imputed to children's reading of comics are obviously the more alarming, closer to the tops of people's minds.

People also were asked to express agreement or disagreement with the statement, "reading comics lowers the moral standards of children." The open-end interviews

made it clear that the majority of people interpreted "moral standards" to mean conformity to the sexual mores. Certainly it had a different connotation than "dangerous," since more than twice as many persons felt comics reading to be dangerous as felt it likely to lower moral standards. Moreover concern over the moral threat, and over the danger of the comics was held by very different segments of the population. The possible moral influence of the comics was primarily the concern of the older segment, the older the deeper the concern; the possible dangers of the comics were primarily the concern of parents, the younger their children the deeper their concern. Since only 20% agreed with the proposition that reading comics lowers the moral standards of children, the inference seems justified that the comics are not widely under fire on grounds of sexual morality.

Seventy-two per cent of the adults interviewed volunteered favorable comments on newspaper comics as reading for children, forty-three per cent on comic magazines.

REASONS FOR APPROVING COMICS
AS READING FOR CHILDREN

	<i>Newspaper Comics</i>	<i>Comic Magazines</i>
Amuse, interest or entertain the child	31%	17%
Educate, teach reading, vocabulary	8	10
Develop imagination, humor, values	7	6
Occupy child, keep him quiet, out of mischief	10	13
Harmless, unobjectionable	12	6
Not as bad as "comic books"	12	
Other	8	4
Total % volunteering favorable comments	72	43*

Comics reading is most frequently approved as recreation for the child. But much approval is not positive. Only about one person in 10 volunteers the belief that comics reading is educational, and even fewer that it contributes to the child's psychological development. Asked to express

* Totals add to more than 72% and 43% because some individuals made more than one type of favorable comment.

agreement or disagreement with the statement "comics help to teach children how to read," 62% agreed. But it occurred to few to commend comics for this reason of their own accord. With the statement, "comics provide adventure and excitement that children need," 41% agreed (38% disagreeing, and 21% expressing no opinion). But few spontaneously cited this as a value of comics reading. Approval of children's reading of the comics is largely unrationalized, certainly not as highly rationalized as is criticism.

What Is Approved and Disapproved

Seven out of ten adults believe there are particular comics which are suitable reading for children. Four out of ten name specific comics they consider unsuitable.

ATTITUDES TOWARD SUITABILITY OF PARTICULAR COMICS AS READING FOR CHILDREN

Some are suitable, others are unsuitable	35%
Some are suitable, there are none unsuitable, or respondent knows of none that are unsuitable	33%
Some are unsuitable, none are suitable, or respondent knows of none which are suitable	6%
No opinion	26%

Comics thought of as drawn *for children*, such as Donald Duck, and Prince Valiant, and comics *about families*, such as Blondie and Gasoline Alley, are overwhelmingly approved for children (ratio of approval to disapproval, 96 x 1). Comics *about children*, such as Little Annie Roome, Henry, Nancy and Little Iodine are considered quite suitable for children, receiving only a modicum of criticism (ratio of approval to disapproval, 16 x 1 — Little Orphan Annie receiving more than half of all the criticism of comics about children). Adventure stories are little commended and widely deplored (ratio approval to disapproval, 1 x 3). Dick Tracy and Superman proved to be the two most controversial comic characters both rated

quite high in approval, but they also were the most widely disapproved

The most widely disapproved comic characters, in the order of their disapproval, were:

Dick Tracy
Superman
Batman
Flash Gordon
Smilin' Jack
Terry
Kerry Drake
The Phantom

All other types of comics are on largely neutral ground—not considered particularly suitable for children, but little criticized.*

TYPES OF COMICS CONSIDERED SUITABLE
AND UNSUITABLE AS CHILDREN'S READING

<i>Types of Comic</i>	<i>Average Number of Mentions Per Type</i>	
	<i>Suitable</i>	<i>Unsuitable</i>
For children	148.7	2.3
About family	138.1	1.7
About children	109.4	6.9
About men: non-adventure	42.3	5.6
About men: adventure	23.8	60.5
About women	12.2	7.8

Who Approves and Disapproves

Opinion on the suitability of comics as reading for children varies, of course, from segment to segment of the

* Respondents were asked to name specific comics they considered suitable as children's reading, specific comics they considered unsuitable. The availability and familiarity of given comics was not controlled. Consequently, the results of such a "popularity" contest, as they apply to specific strips, are of unknown reliability.

Without rigorous content analysis, which has never been attempted, a significant classification of comics is not possible. However, the following classification will prove meaningful to those familiar with comics, and its results are interesting.

population. More men than women consider them suitable, more younger persons than older persons, more of the less educated than the more highly educated, more parents than non-parents. But adults' own comic reading habits are the strongest factor in determining their attitude toward comics for children *

PROPORTIONS FAVORABLE TOWARD COMICS FOR
CHILDREN BY OWN COMICS READING AND EDUCATION

<u>Combined Sunday and daily newspaper comics reading</u>	<u>College</u>	<u>High School</u>	<u>Grammar School</u>
	(Proportion favorable to newspaper comics)		
Regular readers			
Read practically all comics	75%	88%	89%
Read most comics	74	79	85
Read a few comics	53	64	66
Occasional readers	54	54	64
Non-readers	33	47	45
<u>Comic magazine reading</u>	(Proportion favorable to comics magazines)		
Usual readers			
Read 5 or more this month	a	63%	75%
Read less than 5 this month	38%	48	67
Read none this month	38	43	55
Have read in past	23	35	46
Have never read	23	29	29

a Too few cases for reliable calculation of percentages.

While differences in opinion among educational levels are appreciable, within each educational level the more frequently people read comics the more frequently they ap-

* 81% of adult urban Americans read comics, 60% are regular readers of newspaper comic strips, daily and Sunday, another 16% are occasional readers 25% are comic magazine readers, another 31% have read comic magazines 18% read all the comic strips available in their daily and Sunday papers, another 22% read most of them This means ten or more strips are read by 18% daily, by 27% Sunday, five or more strips by another 22% daily, 19% Sunday, comic magazine readers average four a month The more frequently people read newspaper strips, the more likely they are to read comic magazines—50% of those who read all available newspaper strips, 17% of those who read but a few, conversely two-thirds of those who read comic books, as compared with one-third of those who do not, read all or most of available newspaper comic strips

prove children reading them. Regardless of educational differences, at least twice as many readers as non-readers approve comic magazines for children.

One might expect the loudest outcry against the suitability of comics as reading for children to come from parents. But this is not the case.

PROPORTION FAVORABLE TOWARD COMICS FOR CHILDREN
BY OWN COMICS READING, PARENTAL STATUS AND AGE

<i>Combined Sunday and daily newspaper comics reading</i>	<i>45 and over</i>	<i>30 to 44</i>	<i>Under 30</i>
	<i>(Proportion favorable to newspaper comics)</i>		
REGULAR READERS:			
<i>Read almost all comics</i>			
Parents	94%	83%	90%
Non-parents	87	76	86
<i>Read most comics</i>			
Parents	83	81	76
Non-parents	75	83	78
<i>Read a few comics</i>			
Parents	64	66	53
Non-parents	56	63	74
OCCASIONAL READERS			
Parents	63	64	55
Non-parents	52	52	53
NON-READERS			
Parents	49	47	a
Non-parents	37	a	a
<i>Comic magazine reading</i>	<i>(Proportion favorable to comic magazines)</i>		
<i>Usually read comic magazines</i>			
Parents	55%	48%	58%
Non-parents	51	67	55
<i>Have read in past</i>			
Parents	27	32	39
Non-parents	36	37	34
<i>Have never read</i>			
Parents	27	35	21
Non-parents	26	25	31
▪ Base too small for reliable calculation of percentages			

* Base too small for reliable calculation of percentages

Parental status and age, like education, have less to do with approval than has the adult's own reading habits.

Education, age and parental status have, however, interesting and significant relationships to attitudes toward children's comics reading. In analyzing volunteered criticism of comic magazines, we find this illustrated.

Regardless of age, the more educated criticize comic magazines with greater frequency than the less educated

PROPORTION OF ADULTS VOLUNTEERING CRITICISMS OF COMIC MAGAZINES
AS READING FOR CHILDREN, BY AGE AND EDUCATION

<u>Education</u>	<u>45 and over</u>	<u>30 to 44</u>	<u>Under 30</u>
College	51%	50%	51%
High School	41	50	46
Grammar School	34	35	39

Parental status also has an influence on the frequency of criticism.

PROPORTION OF ADULTS VOLUNTEERING CRITICISMS OF COMIC MAGAZINES
AS READING FOR CHILDREN, BY AGE AND PARENTAL STATUS

<u>Parental Status</u>	<u>45 and over</u>	<u>30 to 44</u>	<u>Under 30</u>
No children	35%	39%	46%
Children under 6	a	45	46
Children 6-18	53	49	47

^a Too few cases for reliable calculation of percentage

While under the age of 30 parental status has no influence on the frequency of criticism, on the whole parents have considerably more to say against comic magazines than non-parents *

Education and age influence the nature of criticism. If the proportion of criticism on the score of the possible dangers of comic magazine reading, to that on the score of its undesirable cultural influence, is expressed as a ratio, we find:

* This finding is not discrepant with that above to the effect that as large a proportion of parents as of non-parents are favorable to children reading the comics. Many respondents favorable to children reading comics, nevertheless criticized their editorial content. These would seem to have been predominantly older parents.

RATIO OF CRITICISM OF CHILDREN'S COMICS MAGAZINE READING AS DANGEROUS
TO CRITICISM AS CULTURALLY UNDESIRABLE, BY AGE AND EDUCATION

<u>Education</u>	<u>45 and over</u>	<u>30 to 44</u>	<u>Under 30</u>
College	15	17	17
High School	21	27	39
Grammar School	23	49	96

The older, college educated deplore the cultural level of the editorial content of comic magazines almost as frequently as they decry its possible dangers. The younger grammar school educated criticize the cultural level of comic magazines only one-tenth as frequently as they express apprehension over its possible danger. However, education has a stronger influence on the nature of criticism than age.

Where Are We

In summary, adult criticism of comics as reading for children is primarily directed at comic magazines. 65% are unqualifiedly of the opinion newspaper comics are suitable reading, while only 36% are unqualifiedly of the same opinion as to comic magazines. Comics thought of as written for children, and those about family life are highly approved. Those about child characters are little criticized. Approval is largely as recreation, but much approval is un-rationalized attitude, considerable approval is negative.

Criticism is largely directed at adventure comics, Its basis is preponderantly apprehension over their imputed danger to character and mental health, much less but appreciably over their undesirable influence on cultural development.

The strongest factor in determining adults' attitudes is their own comics reading habits — the more comics the adult reads himself, the more likely he is to approve children reading comics. Education has a real, but less effective influence on adult attitudes — the higher the degree of education the more reservations are expressed about comics as reading for children. Parents of children of reading

age and living at home, 6-17, are the most interested in and the most articulate about comics as children's reading — they make more favorable, but also more unfavorable criticisms.

On the whole, American adults approve the comics as a medium of entertainment for children. Fortunately, this approval is neither universal nor complacent. There is a considerable and healthy ferment of criticism — a ferment that should increase the comics' social usefulness as a medium of communication, but is unlikely to cause any great devaluation of the first amendment. All of which is indicative of a healthy democracy

Harvey Zorbaugh is chairman of New York University School of Education's Department of Educational Sociology, and director of its Workshop on the Cartoon Narrative as a Medium of Communication. He directed the research from which the data for this article are drawn.

AN EXPERIMENT IN THE USE OF COMICS AS INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL

Katharine H. Hutchinson

This is a report on an experiment, cooperatively conducted by the Curriculum Laboratory of the University of Pittsburgh and the Comics Workshop of New York University, in the use of comics as instructional materials in the classroom.

The philosophy underlying this experiment may be briefly stated. There should be harmony between the child's ongoing life activities and his experiences in the school — new learning always is a continuation or expansion of learning already possessed by the learner. The normal activities of children involve the same subject material that constitutes the school curriculum — geography, history, science, language and other academic areas are present in unorganized form in the day by day activities of children. Reading comics is a well nigh universal out-of-school activity. Instead of being rejected and divorced from school experience, might it not profitably be accepted and related to teaching and learning?

Puck — the Comic Weekly was used as the vehicle for exploring this possibility. The Curriculum Laboratory analyzed Puck — the Comic Weekly's features for theme and characteristic content, maturity required of readers, relative interest for each sex, and relationship of content to conventional school curriculum.

Using this content analysis as a point of departure a pilot study in schools of the Pittsburgh Area of the use of comics as instructional material in the classroom was conducted. The results of this study were cooperatively analyzed by the Curriculum Laboratory, and the Comics Workshop. A manual was then prepared describing the projected experiment, summarizing experiences in try-out

study and offering suggestions as to how comics reading may be related to curriculum and instruction *

Teachers throughout the country were then offered the opportunity to participate in the experiment. Two thousand and twenty-seven teachers, geographically distributed over twenty-seven states, expressed interest in so doing. They received the manual. Each week they also received an advanced copy of *Puck* — the Comic Weekly, and a newsletter analyzing its content and offering suggestions as to its use. The newsletter quickly became a medium for the exchange of ideas and experience among the participants.

At the conclusion of the experiment participants received a questionnaire asking their evaluation of their experience. It is not known how many of the 2,027 teachers who received the materials made use of them during the thirteen weeks of the experiment. Four hundred and thirty-eight teachers who had, however, returned the questionnaire. There follows a summary of their experience as revealed in their contributions to the newsletter during the course of the experiment, and their replies to the questionnaires at its end.

The subject areas in which the comics were reported as being used, the types of classroom or home use, and the relative number of participants making such use were:

<u>School Subjects</u>		<u>Classroom Activity</u>	
Language	28 per cent	Reading Exercises	51 per cent
Reading	54 " "	Oral Story Telling	61 " "
Literature	28 " "	Class Discussion	78 " "
Social Studies	77 " "	Written Composition	16 " "
Personal-Social Relations	46 " "	Picture Study	32 " "
Science	22 " "	Helping Slow Readers	29 " "

The tables reveal that, at one time or another during the thirteen weeks, the comic strips included materials that

* Those interested in securing a copy of this manual, *Comics In The Classroom*, may do so by addressing Harvey Zorbaugh, Comics Workshop, School of Education, New York University.

could be used as a resource in each of the conventional school subjects, and for the more common of classroom activities. It is not possible to report the instructional usefulness of these comics for different age groups quantitatively, because while the participants included representatives from each of the four levels, — primary, intermediate, junior and senior high school, the relative numbers in each could not be equated. Judging from the distribution of respondees by grade levels, the greatest availability for use of comics in instruction appears to be in the middle grades and junior high school.

How the comic strips were related to instruction is illustrated by one of the participants' use of the "Prince Valiant" story of February 29, 1948. The episode in this issue pertained to the return of the Vikings to their home land after they had spent a winter in the neighborhood of Lake Ontario.

This comic is largely pictorial with limited verbal text, but the latter gives clues for the understanding of the pictures. In this case there were the expressions — "We go to a far land"; "We sail down the great lake and come to the place of the thousand islands", "a current aids them", and "ship lunges madly down the rapids"

The teacher presented the following study questions: What do the phrases "great lake," "thousand islands," suggest as to the location of Prince Valiant's ship? What country was their destination? (Previous installments had revealed that the Vikings were breaking camp and going home.) Near what lake had the Vikings passed the winter? What does the presence of "island mountain," "thousand islands," and "rapids" suggest about the origin of the St. Lawrence River? Make use of the map of North America and try to find the route home that would be taken. What might be the reason why Northern Europeans reached America before Western Europeans?

The participant reported that the class identified the St.

Lawrence River and Lake Ontario from the allusions in the text. Map study located these features and the pupils found that the Viking's ship was sailing toward the Atlantic with Greenland as its destination. Discussion brought out several facts bearing on the discovery of America: the Vikings were nearer than the Western Europeans, they knew more about the Atlantic Ocean, and probably they were better sailors. From a relief map of North America the pupils could observe how the St. Lawrence had cut through the Appalachian high land and decided that the process must still be going on because of the presence of rapids and rocky islands. The lesson also raised some questions to be answered by further study: the origin of the Great Lakes; when rivers cut through mountains what is the movement, rivers down or mountains up? And why don't we use the Norsemen's route to Europe?

A wide variety of instructional methods as applied in different subject areas were reported by the participants. The largest number was in the subjects reading, and oral and written language. The participants generally agreed that based on the comics in which the children already had interest, reading and language activities had greater zest and were entered on with increased interest. It was also reported that the physical form of the comic strip which gives clues in the pictures to the meaning of the printed text, was an aid in assisting poor readers. Following are the instructional methods and devices that were developed in connection with the use of comics for reading activities: Reading for story and interpretation; identification of new words, finding meaning from context and dictionary, carrying the thread of the story from installment to installment; anticipating the development of continued stories; identifying allusions to literary characters, supplementary reading related to geography, history, science growing out of allusions in comic strips, and finally the use of selected strips for diagnostic work in reading relating to comprehension, word identification, interpretation and phonics.

Selected comic strips were used to provide material to stimulate speaking and writing. The advantage reported was that the class group had a shared experience when they observed the same strip which stimulated oral or written language. The language activities mentioned were oral retelling of stories, rewrite of stories in prose form, rewrite of balloons to express different development of story, writing dialogue for pantomime strips, rewrite of balloons expressed in ungrammatical or provincial language, writing scenarios for favorite comics and dramatization of selected stories.

Many of the strips included science, history, literature and geography. This subject matter appeared either in the form of direct reference or by implication in the characters and setting of the story. Among the strips rich in such content were, "Prince Valiant," "Dick's Adventures in Dreamland," "Jungle Jim," and "Buz Sawyer." The teachers reported that interest in the story led out to interest in the school content related to the story. The pseudo-science in "Flash Gordon" was used by some general science teachers as a lead to the study of related science that was sound. Among the learning activities in the content subjects mentioned by the participants were map study of locale of story, identification and follow-up study of historical allusions, science and pseudo-science allusions, and geography allusions.

Many teachers discovered comic strips to be particularly useful in special classes and for slow learning pupils in regular classes. Children in these groups are usually over age for the level of school work they are attempting and school material prepared for the grade level is often too childish in subject material for these pupils. A number of comic strips proved to be a resource in this situation. The text of some strips is written in simple language but the action deals with more mature interests. The interest of these older children in the strip led to reading practice, difficult to get with conventional materials.

The consensus of opinion as to the usefulness of the various strips, by grade level and subject, is as follows:

1. "Dick's Adventures in Dreamland" — Grade level, intermediate and high school. This comic proved to be an effective instrument in teaching American history. Pupils were attracted by the costumes and properties which gave reality to the story. It was found to be available both for history and geography study and source material in reading and language.

2 "Bringing Up Father" — Grade level: high school. The maturity of these stories limited their usefulness to the upper grades. This comic reflects a number of different problems in social relations and portrays many familiar social situations and these were used in the study and discussions of personal and social behavior.

3. "Flash Gordon" — Grade level: high school. This vigorous tale in science fantasy is presented in good simple language. It was used as practice material for reading activities. The science and pseudo-science was projected into discussion and further reading. It was found that the adventure theme attracted the poor reader, hesitant otherwise to make an effort.

4. "Little King" — Grade level, junior and senior high school. This strip was found to be too subtle for younger children but was available on upper levels for both human behavior study and language activities.

5. "Donald Duck" — Grade level: primary, intermediate and junior high school. The frequent moral lessons in these stories were used to provoke discussion of personal and social behavior problems in the story. The stories were adaptable to different reading and language activities.

6 "Blondie" — Grade level: junior and senior high and occasionally intermediate. This comic depicting many family situations and problems was used as the basis of study of individual and group behavior. This strip frequently

turns a neat plot and was adaptable to oral and written reproduction by pupils.

7. "Buz Sawyer" — Grade level: intermediate and high school. This rowdy and varied adventure story was of greatest use as reading material, especially for the retarded reader who needed to be attracted by novelty of content. The frequent geography and science allusions were used as leads for supplementary work.

8. "Tillie the Toiler" — Grade level: high school. The "smoothies," who are the principals in this strip, appealed to the teen age group and were leads to the consideration of the pupil's own personal and social behavior problems. The strip was also used for language study exercises.

9. "Jungle Jim" — Grade level: intermediate and high school. This continued adventure story was used as reading material, especially for older boys with retarded reading skills. The background geography, history, and science content was used as points of departure for further study in textbook or other sources.

10. "Room and Board" — Grade level: intermediate and high school. This strip when appropriate was used as a basis for discussion of human behavior with particular reference to the different human types who appear in the strip. Novel language activities were based on this comic.

11. "Little Iodine" — Grade level: intermediate and junior high school. This strip was popular with children and had a wide variety of uses. Many angles of child-parent behavior were used as a basis for discussions in family relations. The sharpness of the plots in the stories made them adaptable to retelling by pupils.

12. "The Phantom" — Grade level: intermediate and high school. This fantastic adventure strip was good practice reading material both for normal and retarded readers. The allusions to geography, science and pseudo-science provided basis for discussion and reading in these fields.

13. "Little Annie Rooney" — Grade level intermediate and high school. The age of the lead in this strip made it possible for middle-aged children to project themselves into the story and the adventure interest led them to read for meaning. The strip was of unusual value as a source of reading material. Frequent mentions of history and geography were given school subject application.

14. "Lone Ranger" — Grade level intermediate and high school. This story was of chief interest to boys in the middle years and used in reading and language work. The setting in the old West was a source of appeal, especially to boys.

15. "Uncle Remus" — Grade level: primary and intermediate. Many of the stories in animal parable were interesting sources for discussions of behavior and social relations. The reading material in the vernacular, while difficult, provided challenging leads to language activities. Not the least of the values of this strip reported, was its use for wholesome school room enjoyment.

16. "Believe It or Not" — Grade level intermediate and high school. This informational pictorial was used both as means and end in instruction. The striking and novel facts were of themselves worthy of study and learning. Many items were used as introductions to further readings and study in history, geography, science, and mathematics.

17. "Barney Google and Snuffy Smith" — Grade level intermediate and high school. This was a valuable strip for instructional purposes when recognized as a portrayal of characters and life in a backward region. Character studies, primitive living, simple and immediate moral values, all are present in this comic from time to time and were contrasted with more sophisticated life. The provincial language provided basis for teaching language by contrast.

18. "Prince Valiant" — Grade level intermediate and junior high school. Found available for history, geography,

and science reading and activities. Many of the picture panels were useful for intensive study in relation to these fields. This comic had frequent mention by the participants in relation to art activities.

A large majority of the teachers who participated in the experiment appraised their experience with the use of comics in the classroom favorably.

GENERAL EVALUATION OF STUDY BY RESPONDING PARTICIPANTS
(in per cent)

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Uncertain or no answer</i>
Enjoyed experiment	83	12	5
Used device for first time	62	38	0
Found helpful for motivation	74	18	8
Increased individual participation	79	4	17
Helped pupil-teacher relations	58	38	4
Increased interest in reading	42	11	25

Appraisal, however, was not uniformly favorable. In general, the more frequent criticisms of using comics in the classroom were that current strips do not fit into the sequence of work going on in the classroom; education is serious business and should not be approached through levity; comics introduce improper language, they make learning too easy, parents misunderstand and misinterpret the purpose of comics in the classroom; teachers do not have time to do these extra things. We will leave these comments for the interpretation of the individual reader. Some of them certainly are quite valid either as weaknesses or difficulties. On the other hand, some of them point to a philosophy of education opposed to that which underlies this study.

On the positive side, this report will be closed by quotes from two letters, one an evaluation by a school principal and another by a lay observer.

"I have been using selected comic strips to stimulate reading interest and for pupil critical analysis of conversation used in these

comics. I have found for many poor readers comics have strengthened their desire to read well, for they see reading as an immediate means to obtain the full pleasure that can come from comics. Pupils have become self critical of their own speech and their learning does not stop each day with the close of school, for the pupil reads with independent analysis the comics of his daily paper."

—T. S. F. Principal; Hope Valley, Rhode Island

A possible by-product of the study came from an unexpected source. The correspondent, whose letter is reproduced, on his own initiative examined the study materials and made the following comments

"My first reaction is one of admiration for the manner in which you have converted an entertainment medium into an educational medium. My second reaction is a feeling that your plan must inevitably produce better comics by the more responsible artists. When an artist realizes that his own feature is being closely studied by school children under competent teacher guidance, and that he is contributing to the social awareness and moral development of grade pupils, he must surely delineate his own characters and situations with greater care. As your plan gains wider use and acceptance it will certainly result in lifting the level of comics"—Mr. Frank Reilly, Director Books and Comic Division, Walt Disney Productions.

Katharine H. Hutchinson is a critic teacher of the Falk School of the University of Pittsburgh. She directed the pilot study and experiment she describes above, and is the author of *Comics In The Classroom*.

BOOK REVIEWS

"The Story of a Discussion Program," by Joseph Cahn, Edward C. Lindeman, Albert N. Meyers, Shirley Star, and others. Edited by Alice Ballaine and Winifred Fisher. New York Adult Education Council, 1948, 94 pp.

This booklet, subtitled "Veterans and Their Neighbors Get Together on Public Issues", has an interest and long-range value which are not suggested adequately either by the title or the subtitle.

During the early months of 1946, the New York Adult Education Council initiated an experiment discussion group project which involved thirty separate groups, varying in membership from fourteen to sixty persons, about half of whom were veterans and half non-veterans. These groups were recruited and administered by community organizations experienced in adult education. "The Council felt, the non-veterans would have an opportunity to share the thoughts and experiences of the veterans, and in turn provide the veterans with information about issues that had arisen during their absence from the country. This free exchange of ideas might help prevent a gap between the veterans and the non-veterans. In fact the two groups might find that their most serious problems were identical." The sponsors and administrators of the project acted upon the conviction that effective group discussion can be a valuable means of educating people for constructive citizenship.

Upon the conclusion of the discussion series, informed observers commented that projects of this nature could facilitate readjustments between veterans and civilians, and could contribute to citizenship participation in community and national life.

In its description and analysis of discussion group techniques, beginning with the organization and administration of discussion groups, the booklet offers a contribution for all who are concerned with discussion methods. Professor Lindeman has outlined clearly the factors which make for purposeful, logical group discussion. Of particular value is a chapter by Dr. Albert N. Mayers, describing the psychological mechanisms which operate in the discussion group process. His comments, as well as those of Professor Lindeman, emphasize the critically important role of the discussion leaders who must understand not only subject matter content but also the feelings and needs which individuals bring to their experience in the group.

Irving Brodsky

Student Personnel Services in General Education, by Paul J. Brouwer. American Council on Education, 1949, 317 pages.

Mr. Brouwer's book is one of four volumes that make up the final report of the cooperative study on general education carried on by the American Council on Education from January 1939 to September 1946. Over twenty colleges participated in this undertaking. Their findings in the field of student personnel services are interesting.

The author contends that education is the process through which the total personality of the student is developed and he discloses the methods used by the cooperating colleges to further this development. The study reveals several ways of identifying and satisfying the needs of the undergraduate and analyzes personnel services such as tests and records, counseling and extra curricular pursuits. Mr. Brouwer argues effectively that teaching itself, living accommodations, dining facilities and university buildings are also personnel services and insofar as they fail to meet the needs of all students they are not doing a capable educational job.

Anyone searching for a panacea to solve all college personnel problems must look further than this volume. Mr. Brouwer affirms that the workability of various techniques and methods depends largely on the individual college situation and he proves his point admirably in an interesting chapter dealing with the sociological principles in different campus subcultures.

This study of personnel principles and practices in higher education is a useful guide for anyone who works with college students.

Arthur B. Murphy

Education for an Industrial Age, by Alfred Kahler and Ernest Hamburger. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1948. xv and 334 pages. \$3.75.

EDUCATION FOR AN INDUSTRIAL AGE explores the relationship between the economic structure and the educational system of the United States. The study grew out of a research project on "Technological Trends and the Flexibility of Labor" conducted by the Institute of World Affairs from 1943 to 1947. Some interesting facts concerning the economic structure of the country are presented and an attempt is made to picture the program of vocational education that has evolved to meet the needs of our industrial society. For some reason, appendices are included which treat of education in some of the European countries. The authors conclude that despite our underlying philosophy of democratic education, the present educational system is heavily overweighted on the side of preparation for professional pursuits, while for the vast sector of the labor force whose work depends on technological knowledge and manual skills, there are insufficient training opportunities.

William P. Sears

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol 23

January 1950

No 5

NEEDED: A TECHNOLOGY FOR IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY

An Editorial

As fear and mistrust have swept post-war America, it is increasingly clear that we have learned little about how to deal with controversy arising out of ideological conflict. In this author's four years with a semi-public agency, The Mayor's Committee on Unity of New York City, he came to the conclusion that in many respects this phase of inter-group relations was more baffling than that of conflict arising over race problems. In the latter, one could consider that science and morality were on his side. Only the bigot or the ignorant would contend that the ultimate solution to the problems of race would be other than the integration of all groups into the common life of the community. The problems were those of timing, strategy, and how fast one could move the social process along. The ultimate goals were clear.

The patterns of ideological conflict, however, are not so simple. Who is right and who is wrong is a matter of faith, philosophy, and belief. The differences are those of values, and new answers must depend upon the emergence of new values before the conflict is resolved. The creation of such values must depend upon keeping the channels of communication open so all points of view can be considered, *but must equally depend upon sufficient cohesiveness that differences can be aired without the group falling apart.*

The threats to academic freedom, loyalty oaths for teach-

eis, guilt by association tests, banning of the *Nation* Magazine in New York City schools, controversies over released time for religious instruction, Federal aid to non-public schools, and the Peekskill riot are indicative of the range of these controversies

Whatever else we know about handling such conflict we know that Peekskill is not the solution. We know that the defenses of democracy are built in the *minds* of men by a process which emphasizes understanding issues. This is in contrast to many of the current nostrums which would shield people from exposure to the other side of the controversy, by processes of banishing the opponent, censoring what he has to say, intimidating him, or withholding his point of view from public discussion.

This number of the JOURNAL presents several articles dealing with facets of this issue. It is hoped that from time to time some contribution can be made to the development of a technology for handling this aspect of intergroup conflict. In the meantime, we must (a) keep the channels of public discussions open (see articles by Smith and Singer), (b) refine our media of communication (see Hager), (c) present differing points of view (Binder), and (d) find the areas of common interest which do not involve conflict where we may cooperate with each other and thereby come to have confidence in each other (Carpenter).

It is not enough that educators should protect children from exploitation by those who are Communists. It is equally enjoined upon us that we shall not let powerful vested interests exploit our profession nor those we teach by using the "Reds" as whipping boys to deliver America into an authoritarianism of the right. Of the two the latter is perhaps the greater danger at the present time. The hope rests in our being astute enough to use these controversies for their educational value and at the same time develop a technology by which to handle them in a positive way.

Dan W. Dodson

TEACHER LOYALTY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Philip M. Smith

The conscientious teacher is traditionally expected to dedicate his talents to the search for and dissemination of truth. In the spirit of honest, scientific inquiry it is his duty to study all aspects of a problem, irrespective of their political implications. Nothing could be more fitting, therefore, than that academic freedom should be a priceless heritage of the American form of government. For one of the first acts of a totalitarian dictator is to curb liberty of thought and expression in the classroom which we consider the very crucible of democracy.

Since the close of the war there have been many indications that the loyalty of our teachers is under suspicion. A number of state legislatures have gone so far as to conduct investigations designed to root out any who might be professed Communists. Although the question of whether membership in the Communist Party is *prima facie* evidence of intent to commit unlawful acts may yet have to be finally tested in the courts, most educational institutions believe that such affiliation so limits a teacher's usefulness as to constitute justifiable grounds for dismissal.¹

As a result of misguided zeal to punish the "Reds", it is unfortunate that some of these inquiries have been marked by irresponsible statements and deliberate misrepresentation. Usually conducted in an atmosphere of suspicion, tension, and bitterness, they have generated much more heat than light. A realistic appraisal of the situation reveals that

¹ The American Association of University Professors holds that "so long as the Communist Party in the United States is a legal political party, affiliation with that party in and of itself should not be regarded as a justifiable reason for exclusion from the academic profession." In this connection it is interesting to note that a poll of 339 University of Michigan faculty members on a proposed bill to bar Communists from teaching in state financed schools and colleges showed 51 per cent opposing it, 41 per cent favoring it, and 8 per cent undecided. Students also went on record as opposing the bill by a similar margin.

all too often has the definition of Communism used by the interrogators been vague and unconvincing. Certain hearings deteriorated into name-calling sessions in which the issue under discussion was used as a political football. Despite the fact that nearly all teachers under suspicion were finally given a clean bill of health, in a few instances innocent persons were maligned almost to the point of character assassination by self-constituted "thought police."

A common method of discrediting teachers is through assuming "guilt by association."² For example, should a social worker, a labor leader, a clergyman,³ a teacher, and an admitted Communist all happen to endorse a projected piece of welfare legislation—merely because they consider it a matter of justice to do so—our modern *gestapo* tend to assume that they must be deliberately following the "party line." If all five are observed in conference, rumors may easily spread to the effect that four are "fellow travelers," since "birds of a feather flock together." It would be just about as sensible to argue that because several prominent industrialists and a known Fascist had jointly agreed to oppose higher corporation taxes they must therefore be engaged in a dastardly plot engineered by Fascist reactionaries to undermine the government. While it seems incredible that thinking people would take seriously such an obviously irrational approach, the very fact that it is today so widely used suggests that we have embarked in desperation upon a "witch hunt", probably more from hysterical fear than anything else. According to President Alexander G.

² A glaring example of this was seen in the so-called "Mundt Bill." The *San Francisco Chronicle* warned that it "weaves an enormous net which undoubtedly would enmesh many an innocent minority bent only on advancing liberal ideas but vulnerable to the narrow suspicions of a witch hunter. There is in this bill too much leeway for evil, for the boundless imputation of 'guilt by association'." (April 16, 1948)

³ Aroused by what were termed unfounded accusations, the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church charged that the House Committee on Un-American Activities had falsely created the impression that the churches had been infiltrated by Communists and that church leaders were following the party line (December 4, 1948)

Ruthven, of the University of Michigan.

"We are now in a period of stress, strain, and confusion. Anyone, including teachers and students, who questions the status quo, however honestly, may come under suspicion. There are signs that under the pretense of protecting democracy persons who are not familiar with the work of our schools are interfering with the work of instructors by unfounded criticism and by condemnation of individuals by association."

Is it permissible for teachers to point out the defects, as well as the virtues, of our economic system? Must we blind our eyes to such evils as slum housing, child labor, chronic unemployment, inadequate medical care, old age insecurity, and racial and religious bigotry because some think it "unpatriotic" to mention these things to youth? Which is the more dangerous to the American way of life: filthy, disease-breeding, crime-infested slums, that are the training ground for children who learn to hate our vaunted system because it has deprived them of a fair chance in life, or the teachers who call attention to the problem and suggest that something must be done about it? No less an authority than former Attorney-General Tom Clark has said concerning the origin of Communism in the United States.

"Their corruption, like crime, thrives and grows on ignorance and poverty. The most effective way to fight them both is by removing their causes. Subversive activity springs from an ever present sense of economic and social injustice—and absence of hope and faith."⁴

Is it wise to permit a teacher to be coerced into voicing political views of only the dominant economic groups? For is he not obligated to concern himself with the opinions of all strata of society, including the underprivileged at the bottom of the social scale?⁵ Should his statements and

⁴ *Look* magazine, August 30, 1949.

⁵ Referring to the case of an Evansville College professor dismissed for helping to sponsor a rally for Henry Wallace and his Progressive Party, the *Chicago Sun* observed: "Teachers who are supposed to train young people for democracy cannot be expected to remain aloof from the democratic process. Nor has anybody the right to compel teachers to confine their political thinking to conventionally or socially-approved vehicles of expression." An A A U P committee has found Evansville College guilty of a gross violation of academic freedom.

actions have revolutionary implications and seem a "clear and present danger" to the state, we certainly have recourse in the courts, and there are other channels available for the redress of legitimate grievances. Anyone who violates a law can be punished, but we may not penalize a man for what he thinks. In ruling the Maryland "Ober Law" invalid, Judge Joseph Sherbow said that a law "may not intrude into the realm of ideas, religious and political beliefs and opinions" and that it "deals with overt acts, not thoughts," punishing only "for acting, not thinking."⁸ As a partial basis for his decision, he quoted the classic statement of Justice Jackson, of the United States Supreme Court:

"If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein" (*West Virginia Board of Education v. Barnette*)

To insist that an instructor who often criticizes the status quo should be regarded with suspicion is sheer nonsense, since honest criticism is essential to progress under our philosophy of government. Those who seek to stifle criticism may be very much aware of existing injustices yet show no inclination to remedy them because of fear that social reforms would interfere with their vested interests. It is the lesson of history that in such an atmosphere of repression are born the forces which almost inevitably lead to violent political upheavals.

There is a strong feeling in certain quarters that special loyalty oaths should be required of all persons entering the teaching profession. At the present time, twenty-four states and the District of Columbia have laws in force to this effect. What the proponents of such legislation may fail to realize is that anyone unscrupulous enough to advocate the overthrow of our government by force—be he Communist, Fascist, or otherwise—would not hesitate to subscribe to

⁸ August 15, 1949. This decision was later upheld by a higher court.

the most stringent oath that could be devised. Certain it is that verbal responses are no infallible criterion of a man's loyalty. The supreme test is his record as a citizen, for "actions speak louder than words." One of the great lessons of democracy is that loyalty cannot be forced, and any individual determined to perjure himself will do so readily under oath without any qualms of conscience. Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, holds that the voluntary method of inspiring loyalty "requires faith . . . that when the citizen understands all forms of government he will prefer democracy and that he will be a better citizen if he is convinced than he would be if he were coerced."

For some strange reason, a number of the most outspoken defenders of our American system resent the fact that many teachers are enthusiastic supporters of the welfare policies of the federal government. Is it not odd that these avowed enemies of foreign ideologies at the same time seem distrustful of this development of representative democracy? In almost meaningless repetition of platitudes about "states' rights", some say they are opposed to a strongly centralized government because it is the "road to serfdom." Yet only through Congressional action, strengthened by Supreme Court decisions, have many of the blessings of democracy been extended to large segments of our population. This applies especially to the Negro whose civil rights have been so flagrantly violated in the past. Moreover, to leave the problem of monopoly—as well as that of labor-management relations—to the states would hardly be feasible in our highly industrialized economy. Warning of the danger of monopoly to our democracy, the *Detroit Free Press* commented as follows:

"We are headed for totalitarianism without waiting to be converted to either Communism or Fascism. Monopoly will do the job. Inevitably, the Federal Trade Commission fears, the present trend toward giant corporate control spells the end of free enterprise. The result

will be a type of collectivism as complete and ruthless as anything that either a Communist or Fascist dream could devise" ⁷

It is noteworthy that teachers in high schools—especially in smaller communities—are subjected to closer scrutiny than those in the colleges, mainly because of the intimate surveillance made possible through contacts with parents. A social science instructor manifesting the slightest taint of radicalism may soon find that his utterances have become a matter of common knowledge among the townspeople. Protests against his teaching may then be almost certain to arise. ⁸ Of course, the principal danger in such a situation is that other teachers may be so intimidated that the opinions they express will insincerely reflect those of the most influential people of the community.

Inasmuch as tax-supported colleges are maintained by assessments upon all the people, why should any single group presume to dictate their policies? Then, too, do not our so-called independent colleges benefit from tax exemptions at public expense—in addition to various forms of federal aid, direct and indirect—and thus have a responsibility to the taxpayers? Studies of the composition of the governing boards of American colleges have shown that the cards are stacked in favor of business and professional groups, and that labor and agriculture are inadequately represented. Despite their possible anti-labor bias in some cases, it would obviously be unfair for such boards to urge teachers to refrain from openly demonstrating their sympathy for organized labor, should they care to do so. Although unions have received much unfavorable publicity in recent years, ⁹ there are signs that the advantages of collec-

⁷ July 27, 1948

⁸ In Muskegon, Michigan, the American Federation of Labor last year demanded a public hearing on the alleged political dismissal of a teacher who had served there for 21 years. By threatening to refuse to support a campaign for school funds, certain individuals brought pressure to bear upon the school superintendent, urging the man's discharge. This instructor had been the center of a controversy many years before, when he was demoted from high school history teacher to junior high school mathematics teacher, allegedly "for discussing socialism in his classes."

tive bargaining are better understood than heretofore and that labor is gaining friends in the colleges

Is Communism then actually invading our schools? This is a question of grave concern to all patriotic Americans. For nobody in his right mind would want his children indoctrinated with radical ideas by some secret agent of Moscow. Yet President Henry M. Wiston, of Brown University, for example, maintains that Communism is practically non-existent on the American campus; while both President Howard L. Bevis, of Ohio State University, and Vice President Ira H. Baldwin, of the University of Wisconsin, agree that there is less Communist activity than during the depression years.⁹ The fact that the delegates to the 1949 convention of the National Education Association sanctioned a proposal barring Communists from the teaching profession by an overwhelming margin testifies to their almost unanimous agreement on this point.

Those who know our teachers best have often commented that they seem to reflect, for the most part, the conventional social and economic views of the middle class from which they are largely recruited. As for the students, many persons feel that if they cannot think for themselves by the time they are of college age, the chances are they never will. Steeped in conservative traditions, and largely imbued with individualistic ideas, if they cannot detect the fallacies of alien ideologies there might be something wrong with their early home training or with the methods employed to sell our system to the world. Or, what is perhaps more probable, our imperfect democracy may need considerable patching up to render its program a more effective antidote to cleverly worded totalitarian appeals in a fast-changing world.

⁹ There is evidence that organized labor's case has not been fairly presented to the general public in some instances. Dr. Arthur Kornhauser, of the Columbia University of Applied Research, after examining all labor questions asked by opinion samplers from 1940 to 1945, found that only 8, out of a total of 155, dealt with the positive or favorable effects of unions.

¹⁰ The National Council for American Education recently released figures

AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEW YORK PRESS TREATMENT OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA

Henry A. Singer

Last spring, one of the "most controversial meetings in recent New York history"¹ took place at the Waldorf-Astoria. A group of leading American scientists, educators, artists and writers invited their opposite numbers from other parts of the world, including the Soviet Zones, to a World Peace Conference in New York City. Suddenly a week before the conference, the United States State Department condemned the world meeting as communist-inspired and refused visas to many delegates — both communist and non-communist — primarily from Western Europe. The effect was immediate and within a few hours, a series of provocative events began to take place.

The newspaper account of the conference ran from sweeping sensationalism to a running battle between the conference sponsors and the press. The controversy became so heated, the issues so critical, that a rational analysis of the news treatment of the conference seemed inevitable. Now, a few months after the conference, objective evaluation may be possible.

This is a preliminary analysis of the events that were reported by the Metropolitan Press during the days preceding and following the Peace Conference at the Waldorf, the week-end of March 27, 1949. The project was expanded into a major study through the aid of Professor Louis E. Rath, Director of the Center for Research at New York University in which organization the writer has been employed.

¹ New York Sunday Times, March 27, 1949.

purporting to show the number of affiliations of Yale and Harvard faculty members with "Communist front" organizations. Only 3 per cent of the Harvard teachers and 2 per cent of the Yale teachers were found to have such affiliations.

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The Press, and particularly the Metropolitan Dailies, have more than once been under criticism for violating some very fundamental principles of an accurate and honest journalism "An accurate, truthful account of the day's events are not being met. The news is twisted by the emphasis on firstness, on the novel and sensational, by the personal interest of owners, and by pressure groups Too much of the regular output of the press consists of a miscellaneous succession of stories and images which have no relation to the typical lives of real people everywhere Too often the result is meaninglessness, flatness, distortion, and the perpetuation of misunderstandings among widely scattered groups whose only contact is through these media" ²

These findings by the Commission on Freedom of the Press published in 1947 have been recently supported through an investigation of the New York Press by the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University. In a study of the Metropolitan Newspapers' treatment of the Condon Case* the Bureau discovered the reporting had resulted in a virtual, "Trial by Newspaper" ³ "the nine New York papers showed wide variations in their news treatment of the case, although all were reporting the same story. Some presented a picture predominantly favorable to Dr. Condon, some predominantly unfavorable As reported in all the papers the charges against Dr. Condon were vague. The width of the support of Dr. Condon received substantial attention in *The New York Times*, *Herald Tribune*, *Star* and *The New York Post* but very little attention in the other five papers. The background

² A Free and Responsible Press — Report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, pp. 68, University of Chicago Press, Illinois, 1947

³ Trial by Newspaper — Klapper, J. T. & Clock, C. Y. — pps. 16-21 Scientific American, February, 1949

* "Naming Dr. Edward U. Condon, Director of the National Bureau of Standards as 'one of the weakest links in our atomic security', a House Un-American Activities sub-committee demanded he be fired" Daily News—Jerry Greene, Washington dateline March 1, 1948

material revived for use in the running news stories had the effect of building up the case against Dr. Condon but did not build up his defense to anywhere the same degree. All the papers reported the Committee's promise to give Dr. Condon a hearing far more often than they reported its failure to do so."⁴

In a similar study conducted by Dr. Durward Pruden, the press campaign against the appointment of Justice Hugo Black was analyzed and found to have been unusually biased and distorted. Dr. Pruden went so far as to conclude, "...because of technological growth the publishing of newspapers has become big business, and thus the owners of big metropolitan dailies think approximately the same way on economic and political issues as do the owners of any other large-scale businesses. Either by design or by a community of interests, the great majority of newspapers has become the publicity and lobby front for big business, with the consequent one-sided discussion of economic and political issues."⁵

Against these charges and findings lies the amazing revelation that of total space in the New York press as little as 25% is actually given to news reporting.⁶

In setting up the criteria for a content analysis on the New York Press Treatment of the Peace Conference one soon discovers how many discrepancies and limitations there are in the field of the Media analysis itself. This writer drew rather heavily upon Dr. Clyde Miller's material from the Institute of Propaganda Analysis. Dr. Miller had set up a criteria for propaganda which included seven cate-

⁴ Ibid., pp. 21.

⁵ The Myth of Freedom of Press — Pruden, D. Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 19, No. 4, December 1945, pp. 249 R

⁶ The First Freedom — Ernst, H. L. — pp. 290, Macmillan, New York, 1946
ALLOCATION OF SPACE IN SIX NEW YORK DAILIES ONE DAY IN 1944

(Times, Tribune, Mirror, News, Sun, Post)	(TOTALS)
%NEWS 259	%NEWS PICTURES 92
%ADVERTISING 459	%FEATURES 190

gories. They were: NAME CALLING (serving to discredit by attaching labels), ROSEY GLOW (attaching socially approved words in news accounts to the editorial position of paper), TESTIMONIALS (by using recognized social leaders to testify for or against position or issue it tends to influence public opinion), TRANSFER (by using popular symbols to obtain quick acceptance or rejection of idea, person, practice, group or cause), CARD STACKING (over or under emphasis), PLAIN FOLKS (using popular, socially accepted cliches and phrases and attaching them to editorial position), BANDWAGON (creating the impression that the editorial position of the paper is universal or majority position) It was felt by the writer that the foregoing together with words that relate to violence, force or coercion beyond the evidence, would constitute emotionally charged words or phrases for the purpose of this analysis.

The frequency of such emotionally charged words or phrases in a news story would indicate considerable editorial coloring of news reporting. By taking the frequency of emotionally charged words or phrases, the number of verifiable inaccuracies, the number of unsupported charges made against individuals or critical issues without including reliable source or evidence, and by analyzing the dominant slant of the article, i.e. pickets, violence, conference proper, etc we can apply the pro-con-neutral classification to the article itself.

This study involved some sixty editions of the nine Metropolitan papers covering the period, Wednesday, March 23, 1949 to Wednesday, March 30, 1949. The papers studied were the *New York Times*, *Herald-Tribune*, *New York Post-Home News*, *New York Sun*, *World-Telegram*, *Brooklyn Eagle*, *Daily News*, *Daily Mirror*, and the *Journal-American*.

Each paper was broken down into items of equal weight

In the final study this will have to be revised. However, it was felt in this stage of analysis to keep all the factors flexible with a minimum of qualification. For this reason therefore a 2 inch, 8 column banner headline is equated with a short inside page secondary article in terms of numerical weight. Students of propaganda and communications analysis will therefore realize that these elementary findings are considerably weaker than if given a more realistic weighting in terms of placement, length, headline type face, etc.

A breakdown was set up for every paper, each day of the period under observation. There were eight basic items in each paper, plus such additional items as feature columns, articles by feature writers and letters to the editor. These last three were included with the editorial classification. Wherever more than one secondary article was included within a classification that category was increased in weight proportionately. The unsupported charges against individuals and critical issues were included as were all verifiable inaccuracies.

The items under Dominant Slant ran as follows: Picketing (P), Violence (V), Personalities (PE), Conference Proper (CP), Incidents (I), Counter Rally (CR), State Department Announcement (SD), Russia (R), Freedom of Press (FP), National Association of Manufacturers Invitation (NAM), General (G).

Perhaps the peak coverage was reached by the New York Journal-American in its Saturday edition, March 26, 1949. Here is a breakdown of that issue:

	Emot'ly Charged Words or Phrases	Unsupported Charges	Dominant Slant	Verifiable Inaccuracies	Pro, Con or Neutral
Feature Headline	2		I		C
Feature Story	8	6	I	4	C
Secondary Head			1 CR		
	5	1	1 PE		3C
			1 CP		
Secondary Stories			1 CR		
	19	9	2 CP		3C
Editorial	8	3	P		C

Editorial	Cartoon	1		R	C
Pictures				5PE	1P
					1N
				4P	7C
Captions				5PE	
	19	2		4P	2
TOTALS				2 I	9C
	62	21		2 CR	6
				3 CP	26C
				1 R	1N
				9 P	1P
				11 PE	

Here we see out of twenty-eight items in the issue, twenty-six were unfavorable, one was neutral and one favorable. The news treatment was slanted predominantly upon personalities and the picketing (eleven and nine respectively). The investigator discovered twenty-seven unsupported charges and verifiable inaccuracies and in all, there were sixty-two emotionally charged words or phrases in this one edition.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the newspaper treatment of the Peace Conference is the influence of the pre-conference treatment in creating the bizarre atmosphere itself. This was commented upon by Don Hallenbeck of CBS Views of the Press, Saturday, April 2, 1949 at 6 15 p.m. He pointed out the wide disparity between the call for 100,000 pickets made by the *Journal-American* and the actual turnout of something less than a thousand. It is significant that some of the pickets carried the front pages of the *World-Telegram* and the *Journal-American* and one might speculate as to what extent the pickets would have turned out even in the few hundred numbers they did if the papers themselves hadn't sounded the clamorous call for the demonstration but had instead buried the story of the conference or treated it as a straight news story.

The *Journal-American* spearheaded this campaign, headlining on Thursday, March 24th and again on Friday, the 25th, the announcement that 100,000 pickets would demonstrate. The *Brooklyn Eagle* and *World-Telegram* were next

with 50,000 pickets. *The Daily News* and *Daily Mirror* promised tens of thousand and the *New York Post* and *New York Sun* indicated that mass picketing would begin Friday. *The New York Times* and *Herald-Tribune* more conservatively estimated thousands would be expected.

On Saturday several papers began revising these sweeping estimates. Whereas *The Daily Mirror* claimed in a 3-column bold face, page two headline that there had been 9000 Demonstrators, further along in the story it was reported that only 800 were actually pickets while the others were sympathetic crowds across the street from the Waldorf. By 7 p m., Friday, the *Daily Mirror* claimed there were over 200 pickets. *The Daily News*, calling the demonstration the greatest since VE and VJ day, went on to report that the demonstrators were 150 in number by 6 p m. and 550 by 7:45 p.m. Friday.

The Brooklyn Eagle said the picketing started with 30 and reached its height with 400 at noon on Friday. *The New York Post*, whose editor was a sponsor of the Conference, reported the demonstration began with 50 and reached its maximum with 850 by noon according, they noted, to police estimates. (*) *The New York Post* reporter himself observed that there were only a few hundred pickets. *The Herald-Tribune* reported the picketing began with a handful and reached 800 by noon. They estimated 350 by 7 p m. and listed a police estimate of 2000 by 8 p.m. *The New York Times* indicated the maximum by day was 500 and by night 1000. *The New York Times* reporter went on to add that it was "less than a 1000... closer to a few hundred."

The investigator by reason of his attendance at some of the scenes was able to directly observe the accuracy of the

* Although the Post Publisher and Editor, Ted O. Thackery was a sponsor, the editorial staff was anti-conference according to a news story in the *Telegram* which indicated that several hundred dollars were collected in the Post Staff office to support the Counter-Rally at Freedom House.

reporting, especially the numerical items since they were easily verifiable.

The Keynote Session of the Conference was held at Carnegie Hall, Saturday morning, March 26. This writer observed the proceedings from 9:30 a m. before the session began to 12:40 p m. when it ended At 10:10 as this observer went inside the Hall there were by actual count 26 pickets and 16 uniformed Patrolmen. At 11:45 when the writer was in the lobby he counted 35 pickets and 22 policemen in front At 12:45 when the Hall emptied there were no additions to the picketline although a crowd of some three hundred had gathered across 57th Street watching the demonstration.

Only one newspaper was close This was the *Brooklyn Eagle* It reported 35 pickets at Carnegie Hall in its feature Sunday story However, somewhere along in the story a figure of 200 was given for the number of demonstrators. *The New York Post* reported 100 pickets of an expected 3000 *The Daily News* 200 to 400. *The New York Times* claimed it began with 65 and worked up to 250. *The Herald Tribune* listed 300 pickets and the *Journal-American* unwilling to recant on its sweeping predictions estimated that the pickets ran in the thousands.

On the other side, the press was far less generous with the number of delegates in attendance Whereas the claims of the pickets ran far in excess of the actual numbers, the listing of the delegates in attendance at the conference was far below the actual attendance

The *Brooklyn Eagle*, *New York Post*, *Journal-American* and the *Daily News* listed 1500 in attendance inside Carnegie Hall The *New York Times* said the Hall was filled to its capacity, 2700 The House Manager of the Hall stated to this writer that every seat was occupied according to each sections Chief usher's report The House holds 2840 It was this observer's estimate that there were from 75 to

150 standees. It is to be noted that with the exception of the *Times*, almost all the other papers halved the number in attendance at the keynote session. There were many other discrepancies in the reporting of the keynote session.

The *Daily News* showed a photograph of Dmitri Shostokovitch in its March 27th Sunday edition addressing the keynote session at Carnegie Hall. Although Shostokovitch was at Carnegie Hall he did not at any time speak.

The *Brooklyn Eagle* reported what Professor Schumann and Fedeyov said at Carnegie Hall. However, neither one of these gentlemen spoke and Professor Schumann was not even in attendance.

The *Journal-American* reported and quoted the speeches at Carnegie Hall of Dr. Guy Shipler, Dr. Keniston, Professor Warne, John Howard Lawson and Victor Bernstein. These men were neither listed nor did they appear at the Keynote Session. The *Journal-American* then went on to report a resolution that was passed calling for support of the 11 top communist leaders on trial in Federal Court. No resolutions were discussed, mentioned or acted upon and the only reference to the communist leaders' trial was an oblique one by one of the speakers.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the press treatment is the disparity between points made in the reporting and the distortions in the editorials by the papers.

The *World-Telegram*, for example, in its feature story of March 26 reported that Dr. Shapley, "apparently struck the keynote of the conference with his 'plague on both houses' talk. Two of the speakers, O. John Rogge, former Assistant U. S. Attorney-General and Ted O. Thackery, publisher of the *New York Post Home News*, had criticism for both sides."

The *Sun* had an 8 Column, 2 inch Bold Face Banner Headline claiming, "SHAPLEY CRITICISES SO-

VIET." Yet the editorials of these papers blasted the conference as one-sided and Soviet controlled. The *World-Telegram* further presented this novel observation in its editorial of March 26: " . . . the Russians in addition to raising hell generally, also raise a lot of beets for borscht. But frankly how can you get culture from a beet?"

In several of the feature columns and editorials, attempts were made to establish complete guilt by association alone.^{*} *The Mirror* appeared most forceful in this connection. In its editorials of March 23rd and 24th, it cited Thomas Mann, Dr. Harlow Shapley, F. P. Adams, Louis Untermeyer, Howard Fast, Langston Hughes, John Lardner, Donald Ogden Stewart, Dalton Trumbo, Dashiell Hammett, Ira Hirshmann, Leonard Bernstein, W. E. B. DuBois, Arthur Schwabel, O. John Rogge, Dr. Robert Lynd, Max Weber, John Sloan, Dr. Theodore Rosebarger, Herman Shumlin, Helen Tamaris, Canada Lee, Arthur Miller, Mary Van Kleeck, Artie Shaw as "American Stooges" and a "bunch of woozy Americans" who fixed up a "propaganda show at the Waldorf." "We say, throw the bums out. . . . We don't want them. We don't like them. We intend to insult them—if it is possible to insult a gang like that. . . . You are free to insult them too, if you like. . . . The Constitution gives us the right to decide each one for himself who is an enemy of his country." The next day, the *Mirror* continued this type of appeal by ending its editorial, "This newspaper has printed their names. . . . Remember them. They're free to do what they do. But we're all free to hate their intellectual innards, and to let them know it as intensively, actively, and practically as we can."

The *Daily News* in its March 24th and March 29th editorials noted that the personalities previously mentioned were "U. S.-born stooges" and "U. S. Communist fellow

^{*} For a puncturing of this device in newspaper reporting, see Milton Mayer's "How to Read the Chicago Tribune," *Harpers*, April, 1949, especially footnotes 32, 70, 71, 72 and 73.

travelers" and as "having sympathies openly on the Red side of the world conflict."

On March 28th, in the face of the newspaper accounts already indicated, the *Herald-Tribune* considered in its editorial that the affair had been covered by "the sober and factual accounts of the reporters" And they added that an ". . . atmosphere of outrageous burlesque hangs over the whole proceedings" It is interesting that the *Herald-Tribune* took this editorial position on the 28th, when on the 26th of March, in its editorial of that day it commented that "Picketing is understandable and it is not to be expected that Americans will always respond with sweet reasonableness and broadminded tolerance, or only choose the most practical methods of making their protests heard." It would appear that the conservative *Herald Tribune*, along with its less conservative competitors, the *Daily News* and *Daily Mirror*, as already cited, preferred a more blatant and violent type of demonstration.

It was Mrs. Roosevelt, in her column of March 29th in the New York *World Telegram* who wrote "The reports in the newspapers during the last few days on the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace and the counter rally of the Americans for Intellectual Freedom seemed to me rather depressing.

"I cannot understand why, in the first place, we had to exclude certain people from coming to this country for the so-called peace rally. . .

"Picketing these meetings seemed very unfortunate. We believe in free speech in this country and in freedom of association, and some of the placards that were carried seemed to make very little sense. Some of the methods used were melodramatic, but not really helpful in getting to the public a calm and unbiased review of the things that were actually being said. . .

"I wish we had treated the 'peace' meeting more casually,

not giving it so much prominence, answered what needed to be answered, and sent people back to their various countries with a realization of what freedom means to us and with a conviction that we really are not afraid of facing their ideas and finding our own more worth while."

As much of the analysis is still in process final evaluation will have to wait. However, using the equal weight items one can give some preliminary trends. The following chart depicts some basis for these generalizations.

	March 23 to March 30, 1948, Inclusive				Total Items	
	Emot'ly Charged Words or Phrases	Unsupported Charges	Verifiable Inaccuracies	Con	Neutral	Pro
Times	47	10	6	37	41	5
Tribune	119	11	6	53	13	10
Sun	120	15	12	60	5	1
Post	21	4	3	41	26	1
World Telegram	110	7	4	55	0	4
Brooklyn Eagle	103	25	10	31	20	7
Journal-American	295	70	51	94	8	0
Mirror	192	49	16	60	11	0
News	83	14	31	37	18	0

This chart represents total items (Headline, Feature Story, 2nd Headlines, Secondary Articles, Editorials, Editorial Cartoons, Pictures and Captions) and total for the period between March 23rd and March 30th. It does not include length of items, placement or qualitative weighting. The lower numbers for the *Daily News*, *New York Sun*, *World Telegram* and *Daily Mirror* do not reflect a true picture since the *New York Times*, *Herald Tribune*, and *Brooklyn Eagle* devoted at least 2 to 3 times as much space to the conferences. The *New York Post*, *New York Times* and the *Brooklyn Eagle* made the greatest attempt to be objective with the edge to the *New York Times* and *Brooklyn Eagle* since they gave more space than the *Post*.

This article is only a preliminary report of a study in progress. It is possible that some shifts will occur in subse-

quent rescoring and evaluation. One should be cautious in stating which of the papers were more or less distorted until a depth analysis is completed. If one generalization can be made it would be in the overall area of accuracy and bias. Of the latter, every paper was guilty to some degree. As for the former, no paper had less than three. The *New York Post*, and the *Journal-American* had as many as 51 verifiable inaccuracies and misstatements.

At this writing, the major slant in reporting the conference seems to have been concentrated in three areas, the pickets, the counter-rally at Freedom House, and incidents. Few papers, notably, the *New York Times*, gave more space or more play to the conference itself, such as the panels, the speakers, the discussions, and etc. than to the other aspects of the events.

As one continues to study the newspaper accounts, there emerges a growing awareness that the Metropolitan press, its reporters and its photographers, may have been guilty of creating a "cause celebre," or in a sense manipulating words, people and events to create sensational news material. The writer wishes to reserve judgment upon this speculation until all the facts have been assayed.

In any event the people of New York who did not attend the conference but learned about it through the newspapers and the radio in no case received a clear nor accurate account. The public was in fact, in most cases, the recipients of somewhat distorted or slanted articles, and in some cases, the victims of pure fabrications. The implications of this are quite sweeping when one considers the total impact of the New York press and news services upon national and international media and thought.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AND RELIGION

Rudolph M. Binder

The battle about public schools and religion is still on. Shall the schools release pupils for one hour a week in order that they may get instruction in religion? Is the public school under any obligation, legal or moral, to provide time for boys and girls to acquire knowledge of religion? Is knowledge of religious subjects equivalent to a moral and spiritual life? These and other questions are constantly popping up among people. Each side has its defenders and opponents and much annoyance is caused by the discussion. Two cases may be referred to for proving that the issue is still alive and leads to law suits in places far apart from each other.

These cases don't stand alone. The *New York Times* some time ago published four reports about public court proceedings on this matter. During March, 1948, a mother brought suit against the Board of Education of Champaign, Illinois, for granting released-time to any pupil who wanted to get instruction in religion outside the school. It was proved that the schools were supported by all citizens, whether religious or agnostic, and that the released-time was at the expense of all tax-paying citizens. It was not merely the one hour released but the time of the teachers in keeping track of the attendance of pupils in different places. The fight grew so hot that it eventually reached the Supreme Court of the United States. The Court ruled that the religious instruction program of the Champaign public schools was unconstitutional.

More recently, July 1948, two parties in Brooklyn, New York, brought suit against the Board of Education for granting released-time to pupils for religious instruction. The parents alleged that the practice led to various troubles. Much time of the teachers was taken up by registering

the number of pupils attending different churches. Some teachers would urge pupils to make use of the released-time, and some of them would indicate a preference for some denomination. The bookkeeping would take up much time at the expense of all taxpayers whether they approved or disapproved of released-time. And the question of the constitutionality was raised on the basis of the U. S. Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Champaign*.

And now trouble has arisen in New York City about this matter. The *New York Times* has two reports about released-time, June 14, and 15. The two parties fail to look at this matter from a larger point of view and talk endlessly without any result.

The two cases mentioned may seem insignificant to some people. The parents had, though, the support of seven organizations, four of which were Jewish and three Christian. This proves that many people are interested in the solution of this problem. There are, moreover, other places where the problem is being discussed with more or less acrimony, although the debate is kept out of the newspapers. But the matter will, now that the U. S. Supreme Court has rendered a decision against released-time as unconstitutional, arouse more interest in ever widening circles. The problem will have to be solved if we are to avoid serious trouble.

Millions of parents have solved this problem. Every fan-sized Roman Catholic church has its parochial school where religion is not only taught but where the whole atmosphere is pervaded by a religious spirit. The pupils are impressed throughout the school year that religion is the most important thing in the world. Many German Lutheran churches likewise maintain parochial schools in which German and religion are the principal subjects of instruction. A German Lutheran pastor whose church was too poor to support a school solved the problem in a simple way. He

kept school every Saturday morning from nine to one o'clock and taught only German and religion during those hours. Still another solution is found in the hundreds of private schools or "academies" scattered all over the country, they are rarely coeducational but intended either for girls or boys. The Jews maintain many schools after the closing of public schools. For two or three hours the pupils are instructed in Hebrew and religion. Small wonder that four out of seven organizations supporting the Brooklyn complainants are Jewish.

These partial solutions do not meet the whole situation. Many people object to parochial schools as being too narrow and otherwise inadequate. Few people are able to pay anywhere from \$500 to \$1,500 a year to private academies. Complaint has, moreover, been made by Roman Catholics about being taxed for the support of public schools when their children attend parochial schools and pay tuition for the privilege. This is double taxation and unjust. Maybe that the patrons of private academies will join the Roman Catholics in protesting against double taxation. That would certainly lead to confusion.

If confusion is to be avoided certain misconceptions about religion have to be cleared up. Many people believe that knowledge about religion is equivalent to religion. That is not true. A conspicuous case is Robert Ingersoll, the great atheist. He was the son of a Congregational minister and had ample instruction about the Bible and theology. That very knowledge made him a trenchant opponent to religion. He quickly found the weak spots in religion and exposed them mercilessly. Ridicule, sarcasm and misrepresentation were his weapons. Being an eloquent speaker he attracted large audiences all over the country and made many converts, some of whom tried to imitate him. The result was a sort of skepticism on the part of many people who, while they didn't become atheists, looked at religion as

something questionable. Ingersoll's case is noticeable not only because he had a good knowledge of religious theory but because he had good examples of Christian living in his parents.

When I attended high school in Germany religion was a prescribed subject. We learned many things about religion but the smirk on the teacher's face when discussing certain subjects was more informative about his disbelief than a discussion. We got knowledge of religion but no inspiration.

Many criminals are religious, they believe what the church or synagogue teaches, but the real core of religion—upright living—does not penetrate their minds. They observe the formalities of religion but are strangers to its essence.

These cases have been referred to briefly to show that religion is not a matter of information but of living. That cannot be taught in an hour of released-time; it requires long periods in a religious atmosphere and exemplary living on the part of teachers, parents and companions. The one hour of released-time will, consequently, not meet the expectations of its advocates. There are, moreover, certain dangers in this proposal, which, while less obvious, are more serious.

Children often have a sense of sarcastic humor which comes out when differences between them are emphasized. In the public school they are all Americans and sing the national anthem and other patriotic songs with equal fervor. They play all kinds of games, and hardly ever think of racial or other differences between them. The boy who excels in a game is made a hero whether his parents are French, Polish, German or Irish. Religion is never mentioned in these pursuits. Prowess is the only thing that counts. When the hour for released-time comes a division arises. The boy or girl of the Episcopal church becomes a

"Piscopalian", the Roman Catholic pupil is chided because he owes obedience to an Italian, the prospective Baptist is warned to make sure that he won't be drowned when he is dipped in the tank, and so on. Children's imagination is fertile in finding out weak spots in any religion. While all of them join in singing the national hymn enthusiastically there are no differences between them. All are *Americans* and they are proud of it. Going to different churches all of a sudden calls attention to their differences in religion. And the feeling of these differences often lasts through life. The old rivalry between the denominations, which has given place during recent decades to more or less effective co-operation, may thus be revived.

A greater though less obvious danger of released-time lies in the increasing dependence of Americans on the government, both local and federal. Fifty years ago we read about socialism and communism. Today they form political parties with ever increasing numbers. What we read about as an aberrant product of downtrodden European peoples, now stares us in the face. What lies behind these isms? It is surrender of the individual to the state, not only the willingness but the demand that somebody else should do for me what I ought to do for myself. It is the abdication of liberty.

We are fighting these isms, we are staunchly declaring that liberty is our most valuable political asset. But — we are gradually not only yielding to governmental control but demanding it. Education is only one among these demands which concerns us. There is a widespread demand that the federal government should not only supervise but control education. Religion, according to the verdict of the Supreme Court mentioned above, would be ruled out of public schools. This verdict seems to have had little effect on the advocate of released-time, more than ever they clamor for it.

What does released-time mean? Its essential meaning is the shifting of individual responsibility to the community, an indication of the weakening of the American spirit for independence. Religion is a matter of the church and the home. When these two organizations fail in the instruction of the young, they surrender a precious privilege to the community. The objection may be raised that the public school is not to give instruction in religion but only furnish the opportunity for it by released-time. Is that opportunity necessary? Let us look at the facts.

The average number of days when the schools are open for instruction is about 180 in our cities with their well organized systems. It is smaller in villages and country districts. Among the best organized school systems are those of Philadelphia and New York, both of which were above the average. During the year 1946-1947 Philadelphia had the following record. Elementary 187 days, Junior High and Vocational schools 183, Senior High schools 181.

This means that the school takes up about one half of the days of the year, leaving the other half free. Here is the opportunity for the churches. They have ample time for teaching one subject—religion, while the school has to teach three or four subjects in the same amount of time.

The time which the churches have for religious instruction is, moreover, well distributed throughout the year. Saturdays and Sundays make up 104 days, vacations count for 78 days, more in some places, fewer in others, that is 182 days. What do the churches do with this time? Sunday schools are found in nearly every church. But they do not meet the demands of religious instruction fully. The teachers are in many cases poorly equipped for their task, and instruction is necessarily inadequate. The churches should use part of Saturdays and of vacations for this purpose and have the minister or some other competent person do the teaching. Sunday school would be merely supplementary

to Sunday services. The German Lutheran minister mentioned above was amply rewarded. He had good congregations and the children didn't leave after Sunday school but stayed for the service. The instruction they received on Saturday inspired them to look for the more spiritual church services.

And all the churches will fare similarly if they tackle the religious problem intelligently. This means attacking the problem from every angle, giving adequate instruction, inspiring the young people with good examples and stressing the spiritual aspects of life. That is the only way to maintain our liberty and independence. Self-reliance is more important than a little information gained in one hour of released-time.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL SCIENCE AND INTERGROUP EDUCATION³

Don J. Hager

I

The fact that tremendous quantities of money and energy are being spent annually in a multi-dimensional attack on group tensions in the United States raises the question of the extent to which intergroup education is meeting the challenge of classroom and community.¹ In addition, this fact invites investigation of the intellectual and conceptual structure through which this attack functions. This article, therefore, will be primarily devoted to an evaluation of prevailing modes of conceptualization found in the literature of intergroup education.²

*I am indebted to Professor Melvin Tumin and Mr. Joseph Kauffman for helping me clarify the ideas contained in the article.

¹For recent appraisals of intergroup education see Charles I. Glicksberg, "Intercultural Education: Utopia or Reality," *Common Ground*, (Summer, 1945), Solomon A. Fineberg, "Strategy of Error," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, (February, 1945), Mordecai Grossman, "The Schools Fight Prejudice," *Commentary*, (April, 1946), Herbert Seamans, "Education and Intergroup Relations," *The Educational Record*, (January, 1946), Lloyd A. Cook, "The College Study in Intergroup Relations," *The Education Record*, (October, 1946) and "Intergroup Education," *Review of Educational Research*, (October, 1947), *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials*, (Report of the Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations), American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1949.

²In general, the documentary quotations which follow in the text and footnotes are taken from the following books and monographs: *Curriculum in Intergroup Education* (Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools, Work in Progress Series), American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1949, *Group Processes in Supervision*, (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA), Washington, D. C., 1949, *Cooperation: Principles and Practices*, (NEA, Eleventh Yearbook), Washington, D. C. 1938, Hilda Taba and W. Van Til (eds.), *Democracy: Human Relations Promising Practices in Intergroup and Intercultural Education in Social Studies*, (National Education Association), Washington, D. C., 1945, W. H. Kilpatrick and W. Van Til (eds.), *Intercultural Attitudes in the Making*,

II

Intergroup education, attacking group tensions through the application of educational resources and techniques, proceeds on certain presuppositions. For instance, a review of the literature of intergroup education reveals the fact that educators and teachers, among others, tend to attribute an intrinsic positive value to education and knowledge. But whatever the merits of education and knowledge they do not obviate the necessity to recognize the *function* of both knowledge and ignorance in any society.³ Much less, however, do they give an educator the license to set down unsubstantiated notions about the intrinsic quality of such catchwords as group process, democratic process, cooperation, competition, cultural pluralism, permissiveness, integration, human "needs," and the like. The formal emptiness of such words is matched only by the low level of abstraction in which they are customarily employed in the literature of intergroup education.

This "apostolic laying-on of words" denotes more, as I shall try to indicate, than the naivete characteristic of many writers in this field. The use of this jargon is not only related to a belief in the intrinsic quality of certain words, but is also indicative of an anti-intellectual and un-social scientific orientation. For example, the term "group process" as used in contemporary intergroup literature implies, among other things, an invidious distinction between those results arrived at through "group effort" and those achieved through "individual endeavor"—a distinction

³ Ignorance, for example, functions to preserve, among other things, systems of competition, status relationships, rank, stereotypes, and incentives. See Melvin M. Tumin and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Social Functions of Ignorance," (forthcoming), *American Sociological Review*, 1950.

New York: Harpers, 1947; Theodore Brameld, *Study of School Administrative Practices and Policies Affecting Intercultural Relations*, New York: Harpers, 1945, and *Minority Problems in the Public Schools*, New York: Harpers, 1946; "Controlling Group Prejudices," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 244, March, 1946.

which is generally made without any apparent consideration for situational factors, group structure, problem requirements, and the like.⁴ Nor is this distinction accompanied by an analysis whereby it can be demonstrated whether it is better to approach a specific problem through group or individual resources. The reduction of "group process" to a mere verbalism is not only accomplished in connivance with ignorance but is produced as a form of idealistic metaphysics which assumes that problems as well as their solutions will arise from the sheer fact of groupness — an automatic and mysterious revelation that operates apart from the structure, experience, and training of any given group.⁵

At this point I would like to submit a few choice quotations taken from recent publications which illustrates vividly the prevalence of this misleading and attenuated mode of conceptualization in intergroup education.

Group thinking means group intelligence in operating [sic] — that is, the group possesses the ability and disposition to agree on group goals and to work out means for their accomplishment. An intelligent group when it faces a problem, just like an intelligent individual, selects, defines, delimits, and clarifies a specific problem with sharpness and clearness *through group thinking*.⁶

⁴ See George R. Cerveny's sharply-worded protest, "On Books, Schoolmasters, and Modern Plumbing," *Journal of Educational Sociology* (May, 1949), regarding the tendency of American educators to stress the "world of actual experience and vital living" at the expense of the "world of books and research."

⁵ It is my opinion that intergroup educators are totally unaware of the metaphysics underlying their writings and beliefs, nor have they ever asked themselves *why* they desire to "improve human relations." Intergroup literature is conspicuously silent concerning this type of introspection which is mandatory for those who are dealing with human behavioral differences.

⁶ *Group Processes in Supervision* (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, NEA), Washington, D. C., 1949, p. 36. This volume is a treasure of naive concepts concerning human behavior. It is further characterized by a low level of scholarship and problem formulation. The authors of this catalogue of nonsense are also responsible for the creation and perpetuation of such gems as "effective living," "social engineering," "Talk-Democracy," "Do-Democracy," "Consent-Democracy," "change agent," "action-research," and, of course, not only "group processes," but "effective

All this member potential must be used if the group would accomplish that which an individual could not do. Indeed, *participation alone makes the sum greater than its parts*, for if I give you a dollar and you give me a dollar we shall each have a dollar. But if I give you an idea and you give me an idea, we shall each have two ideas!⁷ (*Italics added*)

The passages cited above imply that *matters of fact can be decided by subjecting them to "group processes,"* i. e., that factual validity can be determined by consensus or by a "democratic show of hands" rather than through the application of current scientific canons of verification. It is indeed unfortunate that such terms as "Talk-Democracy," "Do-Democracy," and "Consent-Democracy," among others, are offered as serious contributions to conceptualization in intergroup education. Such cant does little to earn the respect of the lay and professional public who may share considerable interest in the objectives of intergroup education.⁸

Given a rather comprehensive knowledge of the problems that are met with in intergroup education, one may hesitate to apply the foregoing strictures. For, it may be said, are

group processes," not "thinking" but "*critical thinking*," not "living" but "*effective or ever-enriched*" living, not "democracy" but "*real*" or "*true*" democracy, and so on. See Professor Edgar Dale's excellent dissection of the educational mind at work, "*The Art of Confusion*," *The News Letter*, (Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio), Vol. XIV, (December, 1948).

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 30. See this volume for more of the miracle-working powers of groupness with regard to decision-making, goal-selection, etc., *passim*.

⁸ Other troublesome terms and concepts are also treated in a cavalier fashion, e.g., race, cooperation, competition, social change, attitudes ("and how to change them"), social class, and so on. For example, all sorts of unsubstantiated claims have been made concerning the intrinsic merit of competition and cooperation in our society or, as customarily put, "cooperation *vs* competition." Actually, we possess only a fragmentary knowledge of the conditions and circumstances under which we can predict with any degree of accuracy, whether it is better for men to compete or cooperate with each other. Both cooperation and competition are inherent in any social system—men can be taught to function and to achieve satisfactions equally in a competitive or cooperative situation—but we have no knowledge, at the moment, for assuming that one of these modes of human interaction is intrinsically more "natural" behavior than the other.

not these breaches of scholarship indicative of a struggle with the great "unknowns" about human behavior? Are not these errors in judgment and sense of problem prompted more by the excesses of democratic zeal than of mature objective knowledge? Are not these "oversights" largely the product of the unskilled, the uninitiated, and the unlettered? How can one explain, then, the following.

A number of people talk freely about a matter of common concern. A proposes a plan of action. B successfully voices objection and criticism. C then proposes a modified plan. D, E, and F criticize certain features of this plan. The group at this point divides, seemingly unable to agree. G then comes forward with a new plan that combines the desired features and avoids the evils feared. The group agrees. Here A, B, C, D, E, F, and G were successively leaders of the group. And each act of leadership emerged out of the situation as it then appeared. This democratic leadership and its success depends on—may exactly is—an on-going process of education *inherent in the situation*; .⁹ (Italics added)

The author of the above quotation apparently subscribes to an unqualified belief in the mystical powers of groupness—a supreme faith in the intrinsic quality of those ideological offspring which are the product of group "immaculate conception." We need only improve our techniques for locating the "G's" of this world!

Again, consider this meaningless cant.

General constructive tendencies may be summarized in five areas. (1) school leaders are increasingly recognizing the necessity for a *comprehensive over-all approach*; (2) beginnings are being made toward *vital training programs* for teachers in service — programs which will help them face intercultural issues *more realistically*, (3) activities in adult education are being started which aim to develop in the *ordinary citizen* a *more functional concept of democratic values*; (4) students' participation in school and community relationships is moving, at least in specific spots, toward *greater intercultural egalitarianism*, .¹⁰ (Italics added)

⁹ William H. Kilpatrick in Samuel Everett (ed.), *The Community School*, New York: Appleton-Century, 1940, p. 20.

¹⁰ Theodore Brameld and Eleanor Fish, "School Administration and Intercultural Relations," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 244, (March, 1946), p. 32.

And while the annual assault on ignorance places a heavy burden on the American classroom teacher, she must, nevertheless, be aware of the fact that:

American education today is keenly aware of the importance of *improved group relations* if the United States is to achieve a *higher measure of democratic living, avoid disastrous social disintegration, and realize the full cultural resources within the nation* ¹¹ (Italics added)

Or, in similar vein:

To be *effective*, citizens must be *well informed, physically fit, competent in work habits* and in the *use of fundamental skills, critical minded, cooperative, responsible, creative, concerned for the welfare of others, personally well adjusted, and ethical* ¹² (Italics added)

It would seem reasonably clear, on the basis of the above evidence, that the "lettered" as well as the "unlettered" are guilty of producing a type of literature that, with few exceptions, contains little to attract the serious student of human affairs. Furthermore, the authors of this literature proceed with complete disregard for knowledge about the structure of American society and of groups within that society, and without recognition of the meaning and analytical utility of the concepts they do employ. Such literature is plainly designed to *persuade* rather than *convince* the reader about the nature of intergroup education and its objectives ¹³

III

Without belaboring the importance of high-level conceptualization and its implications for science generally and intergroup education specifically, the following comments are relevant here

¹¹ Hilda Taba and Howard E. Wilson, "Intergroup Education Through the School Curriculum," *Ibid.*, p. 19

¹² *Group Processes in Supervision* (NEA), 1949, p. 9

¹³ In addition, the poor quality of scholarship that characterizes these and other types of intergroup writings and research raises a question that is beyond the scope of this paper, namely, in just what way do these writings justify the very generous financial aid underlying them—and willingly given by many private and public organizations?

Philosophers of science are agreed that the way in which an investigator conceives of his problem, the style, vintage, and parsimony of his conceptual tools, often sets the frame of reference, defines the problem to be attacked, guides research, and frequently dictates what methods or techniques shall be used. As *part* of the scientific method, these elements are closely related to the fact that man's ascendancy over his environment has been due to his ability to categorize, systematize, and communicate experience, scientific or otherwise, through language processes. I am assuming, therefore, that concise problem formulation is of crucial importance for all scientific endeavors, including those characteristic of intergroup education where, unfortunately, conceptualization is weak and ambiguous.¹⁴

For example, let us examine the use of the term "race" in intergroup materials as illustrative of the damaging effect that "hardening of the categories" can have on the human mind. The literature concerning a scientific approach to race is tremendous, however, the contentual aspects of this literature are not well understood (and for this state of affairs, social scientists must take much of the blame) by layman and professional alike.¹⁵ Although their emphases may vary, physical anthropologists, geneticists, and human biologists are agreed that race is a bio-genetic

¹⁴ I am, of course, well aware of the fact that much of the literature of intergroup education contains a liberal sprinkling of quotations taken from the empirical research of such scholars as Kurt Lewin, M. F. Ashley Montagu, Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Otto Klineberg, Ralph Linton, and Eugene Horowitz. Such a practice, however, often gives specious "scientific" blessing to crudities committed in the name of social science and intergroup education.

¹⁵ See Melvin Tumm, "The Idea of 'Race' Dies Hard," *Commentary*, (July, 1949), G. Dahlberg, "An Analysis of the Conception of Race and a New Method of Distinguishing Race," *Human Biology*, Vol. 14, 1942, William Boyd, "Critique of Methods of Classifying Mankind," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. 27, 1940, 338-364, Wilton M. Krogman, "The Concept of Race," in Ralph Linton (ed.), *Science of Man in the World Crisis*, Columbia University Press, 1942, 38-62.

concept, i.e., it refers only to the genotypic and phenotypic characteristics of man. Therefore, the concept of race, as so defined, makes *no contribution* to the understanding of human behavioral (cultural) differences. We have yet to identify a genetic base for human culture. We cannot predict behavior from physical characteristics unless we specify a social context for our organism. The significance of this distinction between *race* and *culture*, however, is not made clear in intergroup literature, instead, the literature tends to reinforce and perpetuate the erroneous assumption that there are *two* sources of human behavioral differences, racial and cultural.¹⁶ Many authors continue to write about "Negro culture" or the "culture of the American Negro," usually implying a genetic "gift" for excellence in "jazz," the singing of spirituals, and so on. Fortunately, no one, as yet, has made any comment about "Caucasoid culture," or "Mongoloid culture."

This distinction is also blurred by those who, from the best of motives, write about the contributions of the various races to world culture or civilization;¹⁷ or, what is more common, describe at great length "the contributions of the Negro to American society." Furthermore, when considering differences between people, or problems between groups, many active writers and participants in in-

¹⁶ For example, the series of monographs sponsored by the Bureau for Intercultural Education are accomplished under the title, "Problems of *Race and Culture* in American Education" (Italics added). The power of the concept race is further demonstrated by these titles taken from recent issues of the *American Sociological Review*: Maxine W. Gordon, "Race Patterns and Prejudices in Puerto Rico," (April, 1949); E. Franklin Frazier, "Sociological Theory and Race Relations," (June, 1947); Clarence E. Glick, "Collective Behavior in Race Relations" (June, 1948); Harry J. Walker, "Changes in the Structure of Race Relations in the South," (June, 1949).

¹⁷ Even such an astute scholar as Arnold Toynbee in his *Study of History* (abridged edition, 1947), laboriously attacks and rejects the claim that an innately superior race is "responsible for the creation of great civilizations." Here Toynbee is guilty of permitting the racist to define the field of argument, he (Toynbee) accepts this specious charge and then proceeds to demolish a straw man.

tergroup education tend to think of these differences as "racial" differences, and to think of these problems as "interracial" problems. In reality, these are differences in *behavior* and the problems are concerned with adjusting the behavior of one group to another. Behavioral differences and problems are not biologically determined. They are culturally conditioned and modified. The relationships between Negroes and whites in the United States are not interracial relationships, for the people called "Negro" are not by any stretch of the imagination a homogeneous biological group distinct from the so-called white group. What we are dealing with, then, are problems of intercultural or inter-ethnic relationships between groups of people who are *believed* to constitute two different biologically homogeneous groups, although we know this is not the case.

The strength of the concept race is attested to by the fact that so many social scientists have been engaged in producing research which demonstrates the "uselessness of racial characteristics" for understanding human behavioral differences. It has been pointed out:

that a vast amount of time and energy has been spent combating the popular misconceptions that arose from the results of intelligence tests in World War I. In attacking these unsavory conclusions the social scientists too quickly accepted the racist terms themselves. Busied with explaining away white-Negro differences in intelligence, the anthropologists neglected to attack the basic assumption implied in "white" and "black". Answering charges, they did not feel it urgent to consider whether, in any scientific sense, *there are any such groups at all*.¹⁸ (Italics added)

The failure to observe the distinction between race and culture (in the sense described above) has also been partly responsible for the misconceptions contained in the flood of defensive and apologetic literature which has appeared

¹⁸ Melvin M. Tumin, "The Idea of 'Race' Dies Hard," *Commentary*, (July, 1949), p. 81

in recent years.¹⁹ The pamphleteers (lay and professional), in a burst of democratic zeal, were neatly trapped by the racist barrage of such terms as "inferior *Negro* intelligence," "the uneducated *Negro*," and the like. They permitted the racist to define the grounds upon which these charges were to be answered. Good will and democratic zeal blinded these writers to the fact that in accepting these terms and charges, they were damaging their own liberal argument. The racist, of course, does not reply, he merely shifts his ground, releases another set of charges, meanwhile, social scientists of democratic and liberal persuasion proceed to "pile up the facts" in order to refute each specious charge—this can never be anything but a losing battle for the social scientist.

Faulty conceptualization also takes its toll with respect to the "minority-group" complex. As a problem-focus it operates as a positive stereotype and tends to force thinking about group differences into the conventional categories of Gentile, Jewish-American, Italian-American, German-American, Swedish-American, and so on. This approach to the problems of group differences is essentially segmental and divisive. For example:

Pupils must know, for example, something about the people who make up America, their backgrounds, their group affiliations, their participation in American life, their attitudes and problems. Among the groups which should be studied are the *great national origin groups*, the special language groups, the religious, ethnic, and racial groupings into which American society is divided.²⁰ (Italics added)

This emphasis on minority-group status also tends to perpetuate the philosophy that all the differences we need concern ourselves about are those of "race, creed, and col-

¹⁹ Reference here is to the vast quantities of pamphlets, books, and articles sponsored by public and private liberal organizations which frequently bear such offensive titles as "The Jews—Are They Human?," "What About Jews?," "Negroes Are People," and a recent editorial in *Life*, "Negroes Are Americans," (1 August, 1949), p. 22.

²⁰ Taba and Wilson, *op cit*, p. 20.

or." It offers an extremely narrow framework for the analysis of group behavior and completely ignores the level of interpersonal relations. While intergroup literature contains many references to "individual worth" and "human dignity," such references apparently have little effect on those authors who continue to produce such patronizing remarks as.

It is difficult, for example, to visualize an "A-number one" *intellectual Negro* without ever having seen one, or a *generous and sensitive Jew* without contact with one. How often are the wealthy surprised that *poor people really are clean, or moral, or love their children!*²¹ (Italics added)

In concluding this section it may be pertinent to add a few remarks about the nature of social conflict and group tension in our society and the manner in which they are treated in intergroup materials. First, group conflict and tension are looked upon as being intrinsically "bad" or, at most, "un-American." This notion is further buttressed by a deep-rooted conviction that conflict *per se* is symptomatic of a "sick society." According to this point of view, therefore, both conflict and tension are defined with reference to deviation from norms which imply the existence of a social order containing neither conflict nor tension. The analysis of the social derivation of these norms is generally overlooked and one finds no recognition of the impact of social change on the norms themselves. In short, there appears to be little awareness of the positive and constructive functions of conflict and tension in human society.

Second, many authors are reluctant to accept the fact that in a modern, industrial democracy, characterized by a large, heterogeneous population, beset with conflicting loyalties, aims, and ambitions, and imbued with a democratic philosophy of self-betterment and individual worth, conflict appears as a *part* of the democratic order.

²¹ Taba and Wilson, *op cit*, p. 21

IV

Intergroup education, when considered as an approach to group adjustment which has been developed within the confines of professional educational circles has, of course, produced a set of "leaders" and "followers." The leaders, generally attached to large and prestigious colleges of education, are those who have pioneered in this field, set its aims and purposes, contributed heavily to its literature, and imparted instruction and "inspiration" to prospective teachers.²² They have also imparted to their students, among others, the unscientific and excessively "revivalistic" tone which characterizes the intergroup "movement" today.

The evangelistic fervor which has slowly settled over intergroup education and which is systematically nurtured by leader and follower alike, is one of the characteristics which makes social scientists, among others, reluctant to identify themselves, academically, at least, with the objectives of intergroup education. One could, perhaps, dismiss the evangelism and the unlettered character of contemporary writings in intergroup education as but a magnificent display of naivete. On the other hand, it is more likely the result of a failure to comprehend not only the scientific method, but the contribution that it can make to the understanding of human behavior. The abuse of the scientific insights that do chance to filter through the fog of community-singing, "democratic group processes," and "action-research" testify to this fact.

More to the point, however, is the fact that this evangelistic approach to intergroup education emanates chiefly from certain professional educators who claim to be the

²² These leaders are a homogenous group to the extent that they share similar training, viewpoints, and circumstances of their profession. A fact which suggests why there is so little divergence of opinion among them with respect to the problems and concepts of intergroup education.

educational and philosophical heirs-apparent of John Dewey. It would be foolish to deny the contributions of John Dewey to American education and philosophy. But it would be difficult to imagine this eminent and illustrious scholar subscribing to the mystical exhortations cited in this paper. Dewey's self-appointed heirs, it would appear, are totally unaware of Dewey's reputation as a philosopher of science and as one of the most astute proponents of the naturalist philosophy—a distinction which he shares with such other worthies as Bertrand Russell, Ernest Nagel, Sidney Hook, and the late Morris R. Cohen.

It is true that the field of education has produced much high-level research particularly with respect to testing devices, attitude measurement, and curriculum development. But a lack of familiarity with the rigorous procedures characteristic of the scientific orientation is the rule, rather than the exception within large segments of American education. These comments are not offered with any intention of raising "science" and the "scientific method" to the status of metaphysical entities, nor will the fact of science or method dissolve the problems of intergroup education. Both science and objectivity can be viewed as a value-judgment, a culture pattern, an approach, a way of looking at data, and so on, but however one chooses to define them, it seems clear that too much of the intellectual structure of American education and specifically, intergroup education, is neither objective nor scientific.²³

²³ It is highly probable that writers of intergroup educational materials still adhere, although somewhat covertly, to the notion that social phenomena are intrinsically "too complex" and "subjective" and, therefore, are not amenable to scientific analysis.

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CHURCHES WORK TOGETHER IN FEDERATION

J. Henry Carpenter

Across the nation the Protestant Churches of America work together in Federation activities and program, thus presenting a common voice to the community. At a recent meeting of over two-hundred paid church federation secretaries of the nation held at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, it was stated that there "now are 729 state, city and local councils of churches—230 councils have employed executive leadership and 499 voluntary leadership." These more than seven hundred local "Councils of Churches," as they are generally called, cover the nation from Miami, Florida to Seattle, Washington, from San Diego, California to Portland, Maine or from San Antonio, Texas to Duluth, Minnesota. Their great growth has taken place in the last two decades although they were preceded during the last century by Sunday School Unions or Associations and by various types of ministerial organizations which ran all the way from sporadic meetings of a few community clergymen, to formal monthly meetings with committees and active program responsibility. There are 1,775 of these ministerial groups functioning throughout the country. Practically all church councils have developed directly or indirectly from such ministerial associations. The tendency toward local community cooperative programs of the churches is extremely strong at this time in America and is at the same time reflected in the insistent demand for church unity in America.

Nationally, the denominations have come together in the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Officially, action to join the council has been taken by 27 denominations representing a membership of 2,900,000 or more than two-thirds of the total protestant population. Boards of national churches have combined in other bodies such as the International Council of Religious Education, the Home

Missions Council of North America, and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. The women of the nation have joined forces interdenominationally in the National Council of Church Women. In 1951, a plenary session of denominational representatives is contemplated to bring all of these national interdenominational organizations together in an overall body with functioning boards or departments carrying on each of the combined areas of service. This is a story in itself, however, and is only mentioned here to indicate the national picture and to say that the program of each of these separate national bodies is generally reflected in the make-up of the local council. That is, each local council covers all these various functions, Christian Education, Home Missions, Women's Work, etc., and therefore, has been a prime agitator for the closer coordination of the national bodies. Another point must be made here. There is no legal nor constitutional connection between the National bodies and the local council. Each local council is a "law unto itself" but at the same time becomes largely the channel through which these national bodies gear their programs down through to the local church. A large part of the local council program consequently is planned and projected to them, through literature and field workers from the national bodies.

The Actual Set-up of a Local Council

With this general background the real point of this paper becomes a description of how the local council of churches functions in a community. This will be answered in two ways. First by outlining the working committee organization of a specific local council (Brooklyn, New York) and second by illustrating actual committee procedures in a given situation.

The Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council of the City of New York as the Brooklyn Council is now called, has a historic setting of over 100 years of interdenomina-

tional work and service in Kings County. In 1829, 120 years ago, the Brooklyn City Mission and Tract Society was organized as an expression of the home mission-charity outreach of the protestant churches of the area. An earlier organization, the Brooklyn Sunday School Union began in 1816, is still functioning separately and continues the famous Brooklyn Sunday School Anniversary Day parade. In 1919, a group of local ministers organized the Brooklyn Federation of Churches as a more modern expression of church cooperation. In 1933, two of these inter-church agencies, having had the same executive for some ten years and having largely an interlocking directorate joined in a new organization. The century old City Mission and Tract Society changed its name to the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation and assumed the activities of the Brooklyn Federation of Churches. This organization in 1943 joined other federations in forming the Protestant Council of the City of New York. This brief historical sketch is important in that it reflects the long history of the development of protestant church cooperation which progressed from the mere mission or charity expression of protestant concern to the present inclusive interdenominational program which represents the protestant voice of the community and carries on those common church functions "which can best be done together."

The Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council is now organized with a board of Directors which meets bi-monthly. This board of 65 men and women, lay and clerical, interracial and interdenominational, is elected each year at the annual meeting of the council, which is made up of official representatives of the churches and affiliated organizations such as the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Salvation Army, the Protestant Teachers Association and the Sunday School Union. The members of the board include 30 directors elected for a three year period which must be equally divided between lay and clerical members,

twenty denominational representatives, one director nominated from each of twenty denominational judicatories in the area, and fifteen committee chairmen or co-chairmen, including the president of the Brooklyn Council of Church Women and the Brooklyn Bible Society. This board of Directors has full powers of the council between annual meetings, appoints an executive secretary and elects all committees as nominated by the President and Chairman.

How the Council Functions

The actual functioning of the council is through twelve committees, commissions, and councils. The president of the council, customarily a minister elected annually, and the executive secretary are ex-officio members of all the groups. The committees are Finance Committee and Law Committee made up entirely of laymen and laywomen. They report to the Board on all financial and legal matters, take responsibility for money raising, investment of mortgages and securities and expenditure of funds within the approved budget.

The commissions each function in a particular field and are responsible for a certain segment of council activity. These commissions are as follows: *The Commission on Religious Activities* which is charged with the evangelistic outreach of the council. It sponsors a yearly convocation of ministers in the fall, such special services as Reformation Sunday, Whit-sunday, Holy Week Theatre Services, an Easter Dawn Service. It promotes special evangelistic emphases such as preaching missions, visitation evangelism, a period of special services with such leaders as Dr. E. Stanley Jones, Gypsy Smith or other evangelists, summer street preaching or such special meetings as those with Martin Niemöller, Bishop Berggrav and others of national and international repute. Staff responsibility for this commission is carried by the Executive Secretary.

The Christian Education Commission is responsible for

the total program of Education as carried out by the Department of Christian Education. During the past year, this commission set up and supervised 110 week-day schools of religion, 101 Vacation Bible Schools, a central school and five local community schools of leadership training for teachers and church workers, cooperated with the city youth department, guided local youth councils in their programs and represented the council on community educational youth problems such as the City Youth Board program and the Brooklyn Council of Social Planning projects. The Protestant Teachers Association (public school teachers) and the Brooklyn Sunday School Union cooperate in Christian Education through this commission. It also represents the council in relation to the Board of Education of the Public Schools and the coordinating committee on Week-Day Religious Education of Protestant, Catholics, and Jews. This department has a staff including a director, an assistant director, an office secretary, part-time supervisors and over 500 teachers and workers in the various schools for which the commission is responsible.

The broad social activities of the council are represented by five commissions. The staff director of Social Service carries out the decisions of these commissions with the Executive Secretary aiding in the commission on *International Justice and Good Will*. This commission is made up of ministers and laymen interested in international questions and the basic issues of peace. They relate themselves to the World Council of Churches and the Department of the Federal Council which deals with these questions. Meetings and discussions of a boro-wide nature are held on special days, such as Armistice Sunday, Memorial Day or on special occasions, such as a service of Intercession for the Protestant Ministers of Bulgaria or a day of prayer for peace. They speak for the churches on matters of National or international importance before congress, the

United Nations or various peace groups or organizations

The Economic Justice Commission deals especially with matters related to employment-management controversies, labor unions, strikes, cooperatives, consumer and other economic problems. The Commission calls conferences on these issues, works with city-wide committees and with the other faiths on many important questions. They have mediated strikes and have been influential in inter-union disputes. This last year, for instance, they have been working jointly with the Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Catholic Interracial Commission, the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Jewish Community Council on a racial problem involving a local longshoremen's Union and the International Longshoremen's Association. In the Fall, this commission sponsored a week-end conference with thirty-six ministers in attendance. Labor union and management speakers led the seminars. This group also cooperated in the Protestant Labor School sponsored by the council at Labor Temple, Manhattan.

The Interracial Commission for Brooklyn is truly an interracial body with representatives of Italian, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Syrian, Polish, Russian, Negro, German and older established churches in its membership. The two co-chairmen of this commission are white and Negro and both sit on the Board of Directors. The committees of the commission hold quarterly interracial services, youth conferences, an annual interracial dinner for ministers and their wives, carry on interracial and brotherhood week activities and provide special speakers for noteworthy days or occasions. As all programs of the council and the council staff are entirely interracial in character (last year, the council had a prominent Negro minister as president and next year a Lutheran pastor of the largest Swedish church will be president) the commission gives most of its time to community racial problems and ten-

sions. It speaks for the council on Interracial matters regarding national bills before Congress on state-wide measures and other such matters referred to it.

The Civic and Moral Affairs Commission deals with community problems of civic righteousness and reform. Salacious shows or literature have been banned through its activities. Problems of liquor licenses, saloons, dives, cellar clubs, cleanliness of streets, community consciousness or organization all come under the purview of this commission and its committees. It also takes responsibility for courses and lectures on pastoral counseling, psychiatric guidance, mental health and vocational guidance, services to veterans and their families and other similar projects.

The Social Service Commission is responsible for the strictly social welfare aspects of the council's work and services. Relations to the Brooklyn Council for Social Planning, the Brooklyn Bureau of Social Service and the Children's Aid Society, the Social Service Department of the Salvation Army and the referral service of the Council are all carried forward by this commission. Drives in the churches for foster homes for children, for aid to the aged, for big brothers and sisters are sponsored by this group. Matters of public housing, rent controls, legislation on Social Welfare, old-age pension aid, widows' pensions and public Welfare Services are all discussed and acted upon by this commission.

The Commission on County and Christian Centers with staff responsibility located with the Executive Secretary is one of the important aspects of the council's work. Made up of official denominational representatives, this commission passes upon denominational responsibility for the location of new churches, relocation of churches, the resale of churches and arranges for surveys of new housing areas and church service to such areas, borough wide surveys (a study of Brooklyn Protestantism 1930-1945 100 pages

was published in 1945)—the program, denominational or interdenominational, in mission or liability areas, and for conferences or meetings to discuss these situations in local community or on a city-wide basis. Supply pastors for summer months, funerals, weddings, etc. are also a responsibility of this commission. This past year, the commission has been largely responsible for the final relocation of one large Negro congregation, has been helpful in working on the question of three other relocations and has studied and developed adequate church ministry to three of our housing projects. Most of these problems involve several denominations or are too large to be met by any one denomination. This commission initiated the Williamsburg Larger Parish idea in which ten churches in a predominately Jewish community joined in working together in week-day schools of religion, vacation Bible Schools, leadership education, youth programs and community betterment emphasis. Carried on for the past eight years under the aegis of the New York City Mission Society, this experiment in community cooperation of the churches has been realistically successful. Also initiated here and finally carried on by the same society as a mission effort was the Brooklyn Navy Yard Project. The constituting committee included health agencies, social welfare agencies, interracial groups and nearby churches. The project has developed a truly interracial church called the "Christian Fellowship" made up of Puerto Ricans, Negroes, Scandinavians, Poles, Italians and other Americans. All these racial groups live together in the housing project, they worship together in their church, their children study together in the religious schools and go to camp together in the summer, sent by the project camp committee. This is the most successful interracial project of the churches in the borough.

The Commission on Chaplaincy is made up of the chap-

lains in the various city churches or private institutions and the borough committee responsible for nominating these appointments to the city authorities. There are nine chaplains in this service, most of them giving the major portion of their time to this chaplaincy work. They cover five city hospitals, the city jail, and 15 private non-denominational hospitals. Denominational hospitals have their own chaplains appointed by the denominations who are also represented in the committee. Regular meetings are held to discuss problems and activities of chaplain service and the technical questions which arise from time to time. This is one of those services which only the churches can do together. The present chaplains are ministers of the Missouri Lutheran, Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, National Baptist, A.M.E. Zion and Norwegian Lutheran denominations. The most recent appointment from Brooklyn to a city-wide chaplain's position was from the United Lutheran Synod of New York.

A special commission on *Community Projects* should be noted here which was originally sponsored by the Home Missions Council and has now become a service of the community. A full time staff person carries the responsibility for these projects. The work has been centered in the Bedford-Stuyvesant Area among the Negro churches, but is being largely increased through the granting of aid by the New York City Youth Board. The plan of this commission is to use the church buildings of the areas served for recreational and group work with young people. Under the new emphasis of the City Youth Board, the work becomes entirely interracial and non-sectarian. It aims to reach the youth not now reached by the churches or other community agencies. Many of these young people are referred by Public Schools or public agencies. The work, however, is in the churches and under protestant leadership as like services under the Catholic Youth Board or

the Jewish Community Council is similarly staffed. The Director, financed by the churches, carries on special community projects of a church nature as well as supervision of the total City Youth Board program.

The Women's Program

One of the most important and active branches of the Council work is the *Brooklyn Council of Church Women*. They are a separate organization, but affiliated with the council and work together in the same office. The Council has an executive director and office secretary. Their activities include the observance of the three national days sponsored by the United Council of Church Women, World Day of Prayer, (This year they held 21 district meetings), May Fellowship Day preceded by the annual meeting of the Council and World Community Day when nearly 500 packages for overseas relief were collected in the Pack-a-towel for a teen-age project, and other special meetings. From 500 to 1000 delegates from churches and various organizations attend these gatherings. The women, last Christmas assembled, wrapped, sorted and prepared over 2,500 Christmas gifts for distribution to patients representing all ages from infancy to the aged in 11 Borough hospitals, two Training Schools and Homes for Young Girls and two Nursery and Foster Homes for children. Throughout the year, they aid the chaplains in their services. They have also taken the responsibility for collecting clothing for Church World Service. After some of their meetings, two and three truck loads of clothing go to the central warehouse. They have organized a special committee to meet the boats bringing displaced persons to the port of New York. Women and ministers who speak various languages, and others just as helpers, give their services on different days of the week to go to the docks to greet these newcomers and serve them as they can. All women appointed to borough wide or city-wide commit-

tees or commissions come from this council. The work of the women's council, organized five years ago has grown immensely in importance and service to the council and to the community.

It should be noted that over 1200 men, women and ministers take active part in all of these committees, commissions and councils. All commissions meet four to six times a year except the Women's Council and the International Justice and Good Will Commission which meet monthly except during the summer. A schedule of all these meetings and regular conferences or special days, over 100 in all, are outlined in a bulletin published.

Having said all of this, the program of the council is not adequately covered. The work of interfaith activities with the Conference of Christians and Jews, the Brooklyn Council of Social Planning, the Committee on Veterans, attendance at local ministerial associations or conferences, membership on committees appointed by the Borough President, the Mayor, the Board of Education or other community agencies is all part of the "day's work" for the staff and appointed representatives.

The Council has through all these years come to be the "Protestant Church" in the borough, Civic, Public, Business, Education, Youth, Social Services and all community agencies call it when they want to reach the churches or desire service from the churches. All Protestants within the borough, transient or permanent, refer to it and ask service of it. The Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council is an important community agency. It is only representative of the churches, it is not a church union. It does represent that urge toward church unity and a larger Protestant responsibility in community, state, national and international affairs which is growing apace in the minds of the forty-five million Protestants in America.

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APPLYING MENTAL HYGIENE TO THE FUNCTIONING OF A HIGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT

I. David Satlow

In recent years, we have heard much concerning the mental hygiene approach to teaching, but comparatively little concerning the mental hygiene approach to supervision. Through a sympathetic understanding of the pupil, and the setting up of a proper emotional climate in the classroom, the teacher contributes toward the development of an integrated pupil personality. Similarly, through the sympathetic understanding of the teacher, and the setting up of a proper emotional climate in the department, the chairman can contribute toward the development of an integrated teacher personality.

The problems of running a department, whether they are subsumed under the category of inspection, research, training, or guidance, are in the main problems of dealing with people. Principles underlying assembly-line production methods will not apply, principles underlying human relations will. Principles of mental hygiene therefore offer a guide, for regardless of the supervisory task or problem, people are involved, and in dealing with people basic attitudes will color the response to a problem.

Whether we are interested in arriving at objectives, constructing syllabi, implementing them through proper instructional procedures, conducting conferences or meeting a special departmental problem such as handling an atypical class or teaching in an undesirable session, we run across a variety of personality types. We frequently meet the dilatory individual, the chip-on-the-shoulder type, the let-George-do-it variety, the smug person, as well as the volunteer, the visionary, the one who is considerate of others.

We do not want all teachers cast from the same mold, but we should like to avoid petty rivalries, intrigues, and bickering; we want to avoid the situation in which one department member takes advantage of his colleagues by letting them carry his share of the load. A proper mental hygiene approach may avoid such conditions and usher in a true democracy in which all department members are growing to their maximum potential, contributing to the common welfare, and sharing from the pooling of their collective experience.

Underlying Principles

Several criteria can be set down as representing the basic philosophy underlying the mental hygiene approach to the supervision of a department.

1. Since so much of teaching depends on a personal-social relationship between the teacher and the pupil, and since the most efficient learning results in an atmosphere that is conducive to proper mental and emotional growth, the best guide for such growth is a teacher who is himself properly adjusted mentally and emotionally.

2. By facilitating teacher adjustment, we will reduce the need for correcting teacher maladjustment.

3. Administrative and supervisory devices are means to an end, not ends in themselves. The end of all teaching is the guidance of desirable pupil growth, the ends of administration and supervision should be the creation of working conditions in which teachers will be able to guide pupil growth most effectively.

Blocks to Adjustment

What are the blocks to proper emotional adjustment on the part of the teacher?

1. A feeling of insecurity
2. A feeling of inadequacy
3. A feeling of inferiority
4. A feeling of rejection

5. A feeling of frustration
6. A lack of confidence in one's self
7. A suspicion of one's superiors and colleagues
8. An inability to face the realities of the situation
9. A sense of futility
10. A feeling of resentment toward others

The various attitudes enumerated above are likely to manifest themselves at different stages in the teacher's personal and professional growth. Some of them are more likely to manifest themselves in beginning teachers, others, in older teachers. All, however, prevent proper adjustment on the part of the teacher toward his self and his environment, and consequently prevent the teacher from functioning effectively with his colleagues and pupils.

The aforementioned personality-adjustment blocks will be expressed in overt behavior in the functional situation, as evidenced by the teacher who

1. "Goes to pieces" when observed
2. Resorts to "clam" methods with his classes
3. Never speaks up at conferences
4. Hesitates to accept assignment to a new grade
5. Does not exchange with colleagues views on teaching methods and devices
6. Frowns upon any method different from his own
7. Does not share materials with colleagues
8. Invariably finds fault with his program or pupils
9. Is always trying to be in the limelight
10. Continuously complains about colleagues
11. Is habitually late in submitting reports
12. Does not volunteer for anything
13. Feels he is always being imposed upon.

An attempt to understand the *causes* of expressed attitudes and overt behavior may lead to a satisfactory solution. Furthermore, if we treat the specific situation and not the personality block behind it, that situation may be relieved but the personality block is likely to manifest itself in other directions. Causes rather than symptoms should be attacked.

A Program for the Supervisor

How is this to be done? A number of accepted principles of mental hygiene will be presented in terms of the supervisor-teacher relationship

1 Respect the teacher as a human being

Regardless of how the supervisor feels at any given moment or what he has to say, dignified treatment is desirable. This applies to the conduct of conferences, observation of instruction, criticism of work, or requests for assistance with departmental chores. The supervisor who respects the teacher's personality will not discuss in the presence of a fellow teacher the unfavorable aspects of a lesson observed, nor will he express impatience with a teacher in the presence of a pupil or parent. Regardless of a teacher's manner of outburst when entering the department office, the supervisor will treat him with respect, courtesy and sympathy. If there is something upsetting the teacher, arousing or increasing the spirit of antagonism will not solve the immediate problem nor remove the underlying behavior causes. The supervisor who respects the teacher as a human being will find the teacher respecting him as a human being. Furthermore, a teacher who is treated as a human being is more likely to treat his pupils as human beings.

2. Show a personal interest in the teacher

A teacher, like all other men and women, is a human being with personal problems of his own. He has to feel that there is someone interested in him, not just eager to get work out of him. There are many occasions for evincing a personal interest. The sending of a birthday card or the lending of a book to the teacher entails very little effort, but evidences interest. When a teacher is ill, a visit or a phone call may mean very little to the chairman, but it does mean much to the teacher. When the teacher returns after an illness, the chairman might ease the teacher's burdens,

or at least "drop in" on the teacher, not for the purpose of observing a lesson, but merely for the purpose of greeting the teacher with a broad smile and a word of encouragement. It doesn't hurt to tell the teacher that he was missed.

The stress of personal problems at home may affect the teacher's composure at school. The teacher who suffers from a sense of insecurity, who has little confidence in himself, or who feels that he is not wanted by his colleagues will blossom in an environment in which people manifest an interest in him. The chairman himself can show interest or he can be instrumental in having others show interest.

3 Display sympathy and tact as evidence of your understanding of the teacher

The establishment of a harmonious relationship is by far more effective than one of conflict. More improvement can be effected by building up than by tearing down. Too often, we are prone to take faithful and satisfactory work for granted. Encouragement through a word of commendation helps considerably in the building-up process. Teachers question the sincerity behind excessive flattery but they welcome judicious praise.

Sympathetic advice should be substituted for moralizing. In sending a note of criticism, the good practices observed should be pointed out and should be used as the springboard for improvement. In post-visitation conferences, joy should be expressed at the improvement noted since the previous visit before the next step for attack in improvement of the teaching performance is agreed upon.

The supervisor should not be disturbed at the possibility that his teachers will construe his sympathetic approach as one of softness, and that teachers will therefore be "getting away" with anything. If he has faith in them as human beings, they will by their actions justify that faith. This is particularly true if he imbues them with the professional spirit of service.

4. *Make the teacher feel that he is wanted.*

Thomas Huxley said many years ago that the sense of futility is the severest shock the human system can sustain. The teacher who is not wanted—or what may be worse, who thinks he is not wanted—is likely to develop into a warped personality. The teacher who feels welcome is more likely to become an integral part of the department than the teacher who feels that he is not wanted.

A teacher's special abilities can be utilized in a number of directions such as participation in the departmental conference, membership on a cooperative planning committee, or preparation of instructional materials. The teacher who becomes an integral part of the department will contribute readily to the solution of problems confronting the department. The teacher who feels that he is not wanted will shift for himself—generally away from the solution of departmental problems.

5. *Instill in the teacher a feeling of confidence in himself*

This is particularly necessary in the case of the introvert or the diffident teacher. So often will a teacher of experience, who ordinarily renders a superb teaching performance, "go to pieces" when observed by the chairman. A feeling of confidence in himself may improve his teaching performance.

We have also come across the teacher who is a lone bird. He never volunteers, appears to be afraid to ask for what he wants, avoids making his own decisions, in short, he fails to assume responsibility commensurate with his experience and maturity.

To build up the feeling of self-confidence on the part of the timid teacher calls for much subtlety. Certainly very little can be accomplished by reprimand, ridicule or pity or by forcing the teacher into conspicuous roles. Gradual introduction to committee work and increased responsibility

ties constitute important avenues not to be overlooked. An occasional passing reference to the splendid manner in which the teacher carried out his commission helps instill the feeling of self-confidence. Getting the teacher to report on something in which he is keenly interested would help in having the teacher experience success in appearing before groups.

The supervisor should make it clear by public declaration and unquestionable action that his purpose in class visits is anything but inspectional. Proper rapport cannot result when the teacher feels that the chairman is checking up on him. The teacher will reveal himself as a normal human being only when he is convinced that the visit by the chairman is for the purpose of appraising the syllabus, studying the conditions under which pupils learn, observing ways in which the teacher can assist his colleagues, and discovering how pupil learning can show further growth.

The conference following the visit is not to be like that of a child reporting after school for a reprimand. If the supervisor has helpfulness rather than evaluation as his goal, the conference is likely to be an effective one. The favorable features should be called to the teacher's attention and used as the basis for overcoming the unfavorable aspects of his work. Not all weaknesses should be harped on; only the significant one or two should be selected and attacked through joint effort.

Cooperative effort will be hampered if teachers do not have confidence in themselves. Conversely, cooperative effort will flourish when teachers have a wholesome degree of confidence in themselves. Cooperative effort will be productive of inspiring conferences, a significant testing program, a vitalized program of intervisitation and demonstrating teaching, meaningful curriculum revision, selection and development of suitable teaching materials and exchange of teaching devices and methods.

6. *Have the teacher feel that he can turn to you with his problems*

When the teacher comes to the supervisor with his problems, without fear that his status will be jeopardized, the basis for proper rapport has been established. The teacher may feel that the supervisor will assist with an analysis of a problem, or may help soften the blow, or avoid the recurrence of similar situations in the future. On the other hand, the supervisor may be of no practical assistance to the teacher, but the mere opportunity afforded the teacher to air his troubles will serve as a catharsis.

To develop a sense of confidence in the supervisor on the part of the teacher, the supervisor must come to the teacher's support in the presence of a pupil or parent. The teacher may be wrong, but the time for telling this to the teacher is when no one else is present. When the teacher sees that he had the endorsement of the supervisor and a gentle correction instead of a severe reprimand, he knows that he can turn to the supervisor as one turns to a friend.

When the teacher has confidence in the supervisor, he will turn to him for guidance on individual pupil problems, for a diagnosis of teaching difficulties, and for suggestions concerning professional study and advancement. The teacher feels that he can turn to the supervisor as an older brother who went through similar stages of growth and is therefore in a position to guide his growth in a manner that would, if not spare him the pitfalls, at least warn him of the hazards along the road.

7. *Encourage the teacher to live a rich full life*

Through contact with books and ideas beyond his field of specialization, and with people and things, the teacher's range of interests broadens. Through applying himself during leisure hours to outside activities and to wider social contacts, the teacher acquires a freshness of outlook,

a greater freedom from the strenuous duties in the classroom.

The teacher's getting out of his ivory-towered shell and mingling freely with other human beings is an effective antidote for the excessive nervous strain of teaching, and helps develop a proper perspective when he returns to the classroom.

8. *Encourage in the teacher the development of the ability to work out his own problems.*

Self-criticism on the teacher's part is to be developed. Any situation that arises and is treated sympathetically may serve as a basis for self-criticism. For example, the failure of the pupils to learn a certain topic which was apparently taught properly may be the basis of self-analysis and criticism. Yet how often is an instance of this kind treated solely as evidence of teacher inefficiency!

The analysis of a lesson plan, or of test results can also serve as a valuable basis for self-criticism. The post-observation conference is a valuable point in the supervisor-teacher relationship where self-criticism techniques can be developed.

A word of caution is in place at this point. Too much of self-criticism is a dangerous thing, for it tends to make the teacher hypercritical of his efforts and is liable to interfere with his effective application to the teaching task. Self-criticism is valuable when it is the basis for self-correction. If the teacher learns to retain a proper sense of proportion in his self-criticism, his growth in service is assured. And when a teacher grows in service, we can be reasonably assured that the pupils will be exposed to an inspiring personality.

9. *Develop in the teacher a sense of responsibility.*

The teacher can best train pupils to exercise initiative when he himself has been trained in exercising initiative;

children's initiative cannot be developed by a teacher who himself possesses no initiative. The teacher should feel free to criticize departmental policy and to suggest changes without fear of reprisal. The teacher who shares in the shaping of policies is by far less restricted than his colleague who is merely called upon to carry out the policies.

The teacher should have the freedom to experiment in the classroom. Experimentation may assume a new teaching approach, a new sequence, a new emphasis or a new unit of work. In addition to the exercise in initiative, an ancillary value resulting from experimentation lies in the joy of creativeness and discovery. Challenges are ever present for those teachers who are given the opportunity to develop a sense of responsibility and are permitted to exercise initiative. Their lot is one of joy in their work, hence freedom from boredom.

10 *Treat all of your teachers fairly*

To develop well-rounded personalities who will look to the chairman for leadership, the ideal of fair play must be guarded zealously. When the teachers feel that opportunities, honors, rewards, chores, tasks, and disagreeable assignments are not distributed equitably, resentment and sullenness follow, schisms develop, and the disgruntled have-nots begin to develop a philosophy of frustration which is not conducive to the proper emotional climate for the growth of teachers and pupils. In an atmosphere of this kind, morale is at a low ebb and teamwork suffers.

Conclusion

Emotional health is a state of equilibrium wherein the forces within the individual—his wishes and needs—are in harmony with themselves and with the realities of the situation outside the individual—the stresses of the environment. When the two conflicting forces are evenly matched, the person is emotionally sound. When the forces are not

evenly matched, when the person attempts to attain emotional equilibrium either by changing his desires or by attempting to satisfy them in some indirect way, behavior problems result. The supervisor is in the position to help the teacher find himself and act naturally. The supervisor can also modify the teaching conditions which constitute the environment in which the teacher is to make his adjustment.

There is an exaggerated importance attached to routines and reports. Routines and reports are means to an end, not ends in themselves. Administrative routines and supervisory procedures should be evaluated periodically. Is all paper work demanded of teachers necessary? Is it serving any purpose? Can the information be obtained in any other manner? What is the ultimate emotional effect of all the routines and reports on the teacher, hence on the pupil?

This is but one of the many areas in which the department head may make a valuable contribution. The supervisor can be a powerful mental hygiene influence in the life of every teacher, since what he says and does might help or hinder the teacher's attitude and development. His reactions frequently determine the relationships of the teachers among themselves. The problem of isolating the causes behind teacher behavior and of dealing with the causes becomes a stimulating aspect of the job of supervision. Patience is required, for the process is a slow one. Once causes are ascertained, remedies are more lasting in the form of the teacher's adjustment to himself, adjustment to his colleagues, and adjustment to school authority. When this three-fold adjustment is present, we are assured of an emotionally sound guide for pupil growth.

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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol. 23

February 1950

No. 6

HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

or

**A Professional Approach to Problems
of Human Conflict**

ISSUE EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Richness through diversity, unity in purpose—these are the aims of the democratic society. In this issue of the JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY there are nine contributors from as many diverse fields. All have been associated in a common enterprise, the creation of a professional approach to the problems of democracy. The importance of this undertaking is matched by its vastness and complexity. How, then, is it possible to take hold of it in such a way as to clarify the goals and focus the effort?

We can see more clearly than men of any other time, perhaps, that the fate of the world hangs on the issue of how human conflicts are to be resolved, whether by the final appeal to force or to that of intelligence. We see this in part, because we are heirs to vast resources of knowledge as well as problems. Yet in the very richness of the sciences of man and the social vision of equal opportunity we have an additional problem. The tower of modern science resounds to the babel of many scientific tongues.

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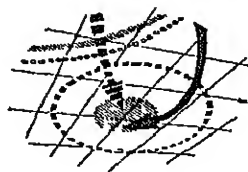
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In this issue of the JOURNAL, the staff of the New York University Center for Human Relations Studies has attempted to set down some clarifying concepts which have grown out of their own and many other important efforts to relate training and research to social change. The first two papers, by a philosopher and an educator, have to do with a tentative formulation of over-all concept and of its implications for education, particularly teacher education.

The three papers which follow take up the questions of how far change toward democracy may go in the light of present knowledge of the individual, of the inertia of social institutions, and of the economic bases of anti-democratic social practices. In a swift mid-century review of the democratic balance sheet, the illustrations, and the bibliography, there are presented some inclusive generalizations and references. All authors acknowledge with gratitude the part that Ernestine Pannes, Executive Secretary of the Center, has played in the deliberations and working notes which were the well-springs of these papers.

No one more than the authors recognize the need for the expansion of what has been set forth. It may interest the reader to know that two forms of expansion are already planned. One will consist of illustration by reference to current practice—case examples—of the application of concepts here expressed. The other is a projected series of books which will deal with as many as a dozen aspects of theory and technology in human relations.

H. H. Giles



CONCEPTUALIZING HUMAN RELATIONS

Theodore Brameld

If human relations is to become a field of fruitful knowledge as well as effective action, one of the most important and difficult tasks to be confronted is that of conceptualization. There is need to formulate with maximum clarity and specificity the basic assumptions, objectives, and boundaries of the field, together with equally sharp analysis and clear synthesis of the subdivisions within it. Such an immense task cannot be accomplished quickly—certainly not in any form acceptable for all times and all places. Every person professionally concerned with human relations should share in the task at some point; he should agree that without such conceptualization, however imperfect, he cannot proceed very far either in theory or in practice.

At the present time the field of human relations is characterized by a wealth of materials, experiences, and enthusiasms on the part of thousands of individuals. This is wholesome, but also disturbing. The field has grown so rapidly that it has gotten, in a sense, ahead of itself. The result is a good deal of confusion, no little superficiality, a superabundance of verbiage, but relatively limited crystallization of fundamental techniques or principles. The time has come to begin that crystallization. A center for human relations studies is one of the places where effort should be made to bring form to a relatively formless mass.

Let us be clear that any steps taken toward this objective are not to be regarded as theory for the sake of theory. On the contrary, one of our major responsibilities is to provide a sound conceptual underpinning upon which we can expect to become successful in our applications. The

truism that American culture in general, and American education in particular, are impatient with theory—always zealous to “get going”—is a truism that cannot be challenged too often. It is because of our *practical* concern, then, that we urge patient and concerted attention to the kind of undertaking to which this discussion is a preface.

Three aspects of the total conceptual structure will be considered: I: the problem pivot of human relations; II: the interdependence of human relations, and III: the normative character of human relations.

I.

By the problem pivot we mean that human relations is a field of knowledge and action constructed for the purpose of coping with areas of misunderstanding, tension, prejudice, hatred, conflict. Throughout the world, human beings are suffering from their inability, thus far, to associate together in such ways as to produce individual and social harmony, appreciation of one another, group cooperation, and the pervasive feeling of well-being that stems from sound, healthful interpersonal and intercultural relations. The field we are now examining is a therapeutic field established, first of all, to correct this inability.

Implicit or explicit in the problem pivot is also the conviction that, however stubborn and chronic human strains and hostilities may be, they are potentially curable. They are curable, moreover, through one general conception before all others—namely, that of science. And science is essentially a *method*—a method applicable to the problems of men, in the same way that it is applicable to inanimate nature. True, the problems of men are still more baffling. As has often been pointed out, the world has utilized scientific method in the human sphere far less widely than in other spheres of nature. Where science masters with great success the giant powers in the earth below and the heavens above, it has by no means mastered the powers within and

between man

Nevertheless, with all our continued superstitions, irrationalisms, and authoritarianisms, we are coming to recognize as never before, that the scientific method *must* be applied to human relations if human beings are not to destroy themselves. It is a foretoken of hope when the former Director General of UNESCO, Julian Huxley, could declare before that organization—the first worldwide organization of its kind—that the scientific spirit must become paramount among nations in dealing with race hatred, nationalism, war, and all other menaces to the continuance of civilization.

In pivoting human relations around its problems, what then do we do scientifically? The *first* stage, once we have become grossly aware of an area of conflict or tension, is refinement and diagnosis. Precisely as in analyzing a bodily illness, the physician of human relations needs to trace the history of the problem, to dissect causal factors, to seek connections between the focal illness and its environment—in short, to “track down” every symptom. It is an axiom of scientific method that the more thorough the diagnosis the more likely a successful hypothesis.

Any hypothesis which emerges from the diagnosis is, by definition, tentative. Therefore, the *second* main stage requires that we consider, as a rule, several hypotheses before deciding which of these is the most promising. Each time, moreover, that one is considered, the scientific method demands that we infer or anticipate what would happen *if* it were put into operation.

When we have rehearsed, imaginatively, the alternative suggestions for solving the problem, then and only then are we in a position to enter the *third* main stage—to try out one or another hypothesis. Meanwhile, we may, of course, find a need for further analysis, further refinement of the problem at any stage. But scientific method is never

complete until testing itself takes place. This is literally the decisive step. Without it we remain on a purely verbal level: there is a cessation of activity which can be justified in human relations even less, perhaps, than in the "problem approach" so widely heralded by progressive education.

These characteristics of scientific method are restated here, not because they are not already familiar, but because they provide, as it were, a measuring-stick for effective knowledge and action in human relations. When any stage is incomplete or missing, thus far is the field certain to be unsuccessful and fruitless in its efforts. That scientific method is always difficult to carry out, in no way lessens its crucial importance.

Illustrations of this generalization are endless. Sometimes they are much more dramatic, however, than at other times. They range all the way from tensions between two persons or within families, to violent conflicts between races or nations. In one instance, the effort to solve a problem involves a few children and perhaps a day or two. In other instances, it requires the combined efforts of hundreds of experts, vast expenditures of money, and decades of time. Nevertheless, the general character of the method prevails equally from one to the other extreme.

II.

Turning now to the second great aspect of conceptualization, our concern is to picture the field with special emphasis upon the second word of the term "human relations." In other words, it is the significance of the *relational* which distinguishes this field as much as any one feature that can be singled out for attention.

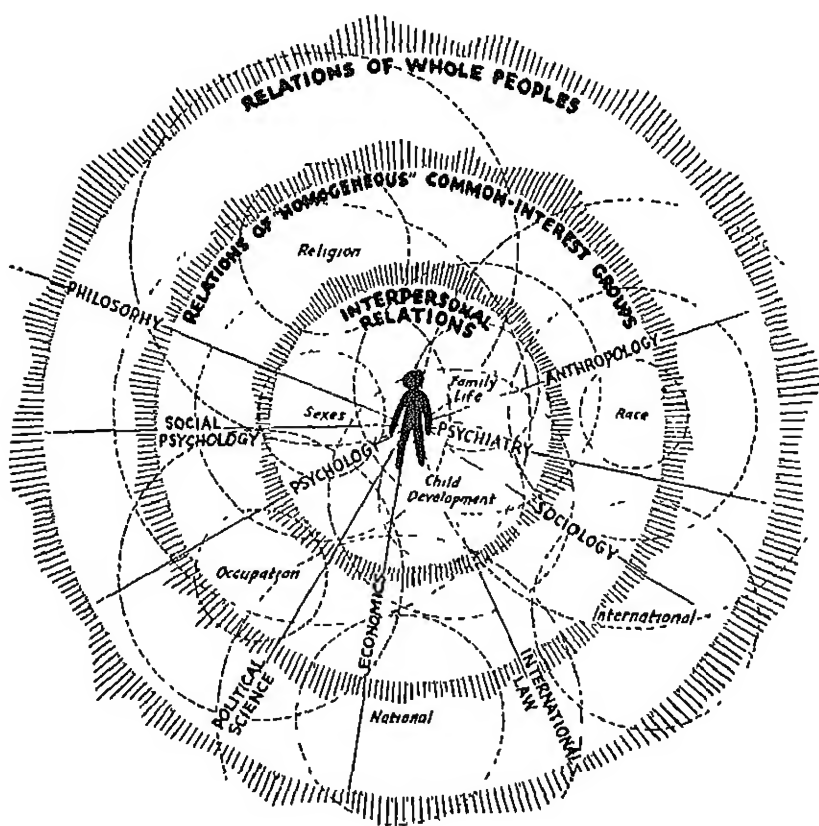
However obvious this may seem at first glance, the fact is that a genuinely relational approach to human problems is comparatively new. The conventional approach has been one of concern more with separate facts and discrete events—with parts rather than with relations of the parts.

Such atomization of experience is illustrated in various ways; in the divisions and subdivisions of knowledge about man, for example, and in the correlative specializations that have grown up within the human as well as the natural sciences. Not only are psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, politicists, economists and other scientists of man divided from one another, even within these separate fields, narrow expertness is typical. The main reason for this situation is, of course, the overwhelming breadth and depth of modern knowledge and, consequently, the inability of most individuals to become competent in more than a very limited sphere. This useful compartmentalization has carried over into education where schools are still so honeycombed with separate subject-matters that students seldom have anything but the haziest notions of how, if at all, the courses they pursue are connected with one another.

There is, however, a more basic reason for the traditional emphasis on piecemeal knowledge. This reason is cultural: to a large extent, the world since Renaissance has been an individualized world, at least until recently. The rise of capitalism as an acquisitive economy encouraged the belief and practice that the individual is the "be-all" and "end-all" of life—that success is a virtue to be measured by his capacity to compete with and win out over other individuals. Simultaneously, modern philosophy and science (with some exceptions) have rallied to the support of this atomistic outlook. The physical sciences have been constructed on the assumption that nature is made up of discrete particles. In the human sciences, too, the emphasis has often been on the separateness of experience: for example, psychology and psychiatry have stressed individual and subjective analysis of human behavior, and they have measured their data by quantitative techniques strikingly comparable to those of the physical sciences.

Beginning in the nineteenth and accelerating into the twentieth century, however, we have begun slowly to shift toward a more organic, interfused approach. Gestalt psychology is one example. The development of a theory of "field forces" in physics, the "unity of science" movement, the widespread criticism of over-specialization and compartmentalization, are other examples. In schooling, we see the relational emphasized in current trends toward "general education," and in efforts to integrate the curriculum. Philosophically, the organismic theory of man and nature developed by Alfred North Whitehead, the pragmatic conceptions of George Herbert Mead, and John Dewey, the earlier but still powerful impact of Hegel and Marx, are all symptomatic of the shift. A profound interest has arisen in the meaning and reality of the very term "relations." It is now widely agreed that relations between facts are just as real a manifestation of events as the facts related—indeed, that the latter would have no meaning except for their relations.

The field of human relations is a plausible consequence, therefore, of a number of trends. It challenges radically the splintering process in both knowledge and culture. It builds upon the assumption that human problems can be dealt with only in their total context. In scientific method this viewpoint is anticipated by the need for analysis which expresses the temporal relations (i.e., the history) of every problem, and of the spatial relations (i.e., the environmental forces) impinging upon every problem. Educationally, human relations is a graphic example of integrated learning, for it must deal with whatever aspects of the human and physical sciences, as well as of philosophy, the arts, and religion, that are relevant to a particular focus of concern. Both scientifically and educationally problems are usually attacked on a collective rather than individual basis; hence the promising new technique of group dynamics finds



boundless opportunity for application in the field of human relations.

It follows that a center devoted to human relations studies cannot conceivably face its task without the close, continuous interpenetration of a whole cluster of areas. There are various ways of structuring these areas; we choose one for illustration. Let us conceive of the field as a series of three widening circles: (1) the center circle focuses upon the more interpersonal aspects, such as relations of the sexes, family life, and child development (the special concern, therefore, of sciences such as psychology and psy-

chiatry); (2) the next wider circle encompasses more or less "homogeneous" groups such as those distinguished by race, religion, occupation, or other common interests (the special concern of sociology, anthropology, economics, social psychology, etc.); and (3) the outer ring consists of the most all-embracing relations of whole peoples, both nationally and internationally (the special concern of political science, international law, philosophy, etc.) Each of the three rings is exemplified by other articles in this issue—the first especially by Giles and Rockwell; the second by Dodson and Weaver, the third by Embree.

Clearly these circles overlap, as again illustrated by the articles. Embree's and Giles', particularly, encompass all three rings. This is proper. For from an organic rather than atomistic viewpoint, there is continuous interplay between the kind of human relations of the center circle and those of the wider circles. Ideally, the aim should be to keep every phase of human relations, however personal or however worldwide, in fluid movement with other phases of the whole.

The need for specialists in anthropology, psychology, sociology, philosophy and other fields does not decrease within this framework. On the contrary, the need becomes more vital and necessary than ever before. But such specialists can no longer be sufficient unto themselves alone. They have the additional objective of serving both in terms of their particular competence, on the one hand, and of their bearing upon the total enterprise, on the other hand. As specialists of these kinds work together upon problems, isolation dissolves; they are distinguished both by colleagues and by students as partners who can speak a common language, who strive for common values, and who are concerned to act together upon the common problems confronting them. The group approach, discussed further in the articles by Giles and Dodson, is the primary approach.

Indeed, it is not too much to claim that the field of human relations sets a pattern for general education itself—and thus for the organization of secondary and college curricula. But it goes further in its potentialities than any of the programs of general education that have attracted recent attention. Not only does it build upon the assumption that learning is an organic experience, and that the inherited subject-matter structure is outmoded. It provides a fundamental and universal pattern for the kind of education so desperately needed in our kind of world by every young citizen regardless of who he may be or where he may live. It would eliminate the superficial “survey courses” that have typified too much general education so far. It would be motivated by the keenest and most intimate interests that people have. It would require the most thorough and penetrating analysis and experimentation that experts could provide. It would substitute, for the “child-centered” emphasis of earlier progressive education a “group-centered” and “community-centered” emphasis in which learning itself takes place by joint study and action.

In short, a human relations center can serve as a laboratory for testing the organismic conception of man-and-nature at virtually every point. As a model for eventually wider application, the more cross-sectional its faculty and, the more varied the backgrounds of its students, the richer are consequences of the laboratory for itself, for education in general, and for the community at large

III.

The third and final aspect of our conceptual structure could just as well be first—indeed, *should* be first if gauged by its pervasive importance. For the success or failure of the field of human relations depends to an extraordinary extent upon the success or failure of the normative criteria that give form and meaning, as well as purpose, to each

element of the larger whole. It is in this respect, as much as any other, that a human relations center differs from conventional departments in the psychological and social sciences. Whereas the latter aim to be descriptive and objective in their methods and results, the field of human relations is also deliberately concerned with and guided by axiological principles—both ethical and esthetic.

Now it should be realized, of course, that no one philosophy of norms is possible. As a matter of fact, philosophies as antithetical as the communist or fascist would readily agree on the importance of human relations—provided they are allowed to define “importance” according to their predilections. Even in America, however, it would be misleading to contend that one philosophy alone is possible. Within the field as it now exists, one finds little difficulty in detecting deep-cutting differences, explicit or not, in the values and other beliefs by which workers carry on their programs and seek their objectives. One of the most urgent needs in approaching this final aspect is, therefore, that of facing frankly and honestly those “inarticulate major premises” already deeply influential upon human relations. This is particularly necessary in view of the fact that, as stated at the outset, conceptualization is a large and on-going task. Formulation of a sound philosophy of norms requires continuous sensitivity to alternative positions, both with the hope of learning from them, and for the purpose of guarding against their influence if and when it is discovered that certain qualities in their respective positions are unsatisfactory to us.

This is not to say that we cannot begin now to express the needed philosophy, nor that we should aim simply to maintain an eclectic attitude toward alternatives. We propose to be as forthright as possible in stating the minimum characteristics which we believe are already defensible and promising. Some of these are provided in the forego-

ing The problem pivot and the scientific method, for example, indicate that the field of human relations should be governed by the assumption that man is capable of controlling his own life and meeting his own fate by developing his own strengths, and that scientific method broadly and socially conceived is the most important single instrument he possesses for demonstrating his power and capacity to rule himself exclusively.

Also indicated in our earlier discussion is the belief that human beings are united in various ways with one another, and that such unities are a fact, not only to be accepted but to be improved upon. Equally true is the fact that human beings are frequently *disunited*—that friction and conflict between individuals and groups are just as real as association and cooperation. While it is hoped that disunifying experiences may be reduced by the therapies of science, nevertheless it cannot be expected that differences between people will not continue. On the contrary, social health and vitality demand that they *should* continue.

The moment, however, that the term “should” is introduced, we are brought squarely before what may be called “the normative compulsion.” The field of human relations is compelled to establish standards in the form of guiding purposes which serve as the beacon lights of every thought and every action. It cannot avoid doing so even though it chooses to do no more than accept uncritically the norms already implicit in the social heritage. The danger is that it will be satisfied with platitudes, or with pleasant-sounding generalities, such as “the dignity of personality” or “the brotherhood of man”—phrases probably more harmful than helpful because they conceal underlying differences of meaning at the same time that we pay lip-service to them. The normative framework now required should avoid clichés and undefined terms as much as possible. It should come to grips with the realities of a world shocked

by recurrent crises and revolution. It should seek to build a set of purposes commensurate with the mid-century, and with an age fraught both with terrible danger and unprecedented promise.

What, then, should be its direction? Two related features may be considered in addition to those already mentioned: (1) The needed philosophy should express a theory of values built out of the needs, wants, and interests of human beings as these are revealed by scientific study of the world's cultures. Utilizing anthropology and other social sciences, it should delineate these common denominators in order to determine the values that races, nationalities, religions, classes may hold together, as well as those which divide them. (2) The needed philosophy should attempt to establish by discussion and consensus those institutional patterns needed now and in the future in order that human beings may achieve utmost fulfillment of those values they possess most universally.

If we fuse both of these general requirements together we are saying merely that a normative conception of human relations should be seen, on the one side, from the point of view of the individual-social drives, habits, attitudes of human beings; and, on the other side, from that of such cultural arrangements as the family, industry, school, and state.

Can we suggest what each means more specifically? The first side of the normative coin would be constructed out of a conception of human nature, personal and communal, which sees man as good—and therefore as happy—when he is expressing himself as richly and fully as he is able. As against the negative, fearful, life-negating attitude toward social-self-expression that has characterized too many traditional philosophies and theologies (Calvinism is one of the most tragic examples), the position here affirmed proceeds from the major premise that the more

complete the release of one's energies, feelings, ideas, and the more generous the sharing of these with regard for others, the better human experience becomes. Ramifications of such a life-affirming philosophy are innumerable. They suggest, for example, that any barriers erected to keep people apart are inimical to the good life. Not only are racial restrictions to be condemned, but so likewise are class stratifications and the sovereignty of nations. Negative attitudes toward sex are immoral from this point of view; not only is rich sexual expression good, but efforts to place women in a subordinate position, to deny them equal opportunity for creative service, are totally indefensible. The implications of this norm for education are equally far-reaching: they condemn any kind of schooling which negates self-expression by children, or which refuses the full privileges of learning or training to any child or adult because of racial, religious, national, or economic status.

The institutional and sociological side of the normative coin requires the concerted formulation of cultural arrangements designed to provide such social-self-expression as we have just described. If this means the denunciation of certain institutions and practices, we must not shun the task. For example, we are required to reject nationalism in favor of a world union to which all nations belong, and in which there is complete freedom of communication and travel, as well as utilization of resources under the control of an international democratic government exclusively subject to the majority of the world's peoples.

Equally, a normative conception adequate to our age, requires an economic order based upon a much larger degree of cooperative enterprise. It repudiates practices which exploit many men for the benefit of few men, which fails to give women equal rights in every way, which denies the full resources of earth and industry to the common people, which perpetuates ignorance, disease and poverty.

This is only to say that a normative theory of human relations cannot be timid or vacillating. It requires concern with and commitment to political, economic and social goals just as concrete and magnetic as its psychological goals. Also it provides a large place for the arts, for it needs to be colored and infused with the esthetic and emotional along with the intellectual and scientific. Finally, the required norms should consider whatever ingredients of religious experience may be agreed upon as compatible with its scientific and naturalistic premise. This objective, admittedly very difficult to attain, requires intensive study of the history and psychology of the religions of the world, both for purposes of negative criticism and for purposes of incorporating such qualities of hope and reverence as seem essential to a philosophy of realizable expectation. Such qualities, we suspect, express a deep need in man for identification with a larger, more encompassing whole than he can find in his immediate and transitory surroundings. They may well take the form of a designed world culture, completely democratic, and dedicated, above all, to abundant self-expression for the masses of mankind.

But there must be provided simultaneously a dynamic of action by which the proposed purposes may be attained. This dynamic borrows much from scientific method. At the same time it involves political, economic and educational strategies capable both of overcoming the mountainous obstacles between us and the objective of a designed world culture, and of galvanizing the peoples of all races, religions and nationalities to unite powerfully and democratically in behalf of that objective.

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SOCIAL CHANGE AND SCHOOLS FOR DEMOCRACY

H. H. Giles

At the beginning of the Christian era, Tacitus remarked on the group process developed in a certain German village something like this: "When there is a question to be decided among them, they call every man to the meeting place. For two days they drink beer and discuss. On the third day they are sober and vote."

This is a description of shared decision—an essential of democracy. It is also a description of shared conviviality, which in 1950 we have come to recognize as a rapid road to free exchange of ideas and acquaintance (in American schools coffee takes the place of beer, due to the local customs). But the largest implication of all is not made explicit, namely, that leadership—whether the leadership of an idea or of a person with an idea, achieves its position through the trust, the feelings of kinship which can be developed.

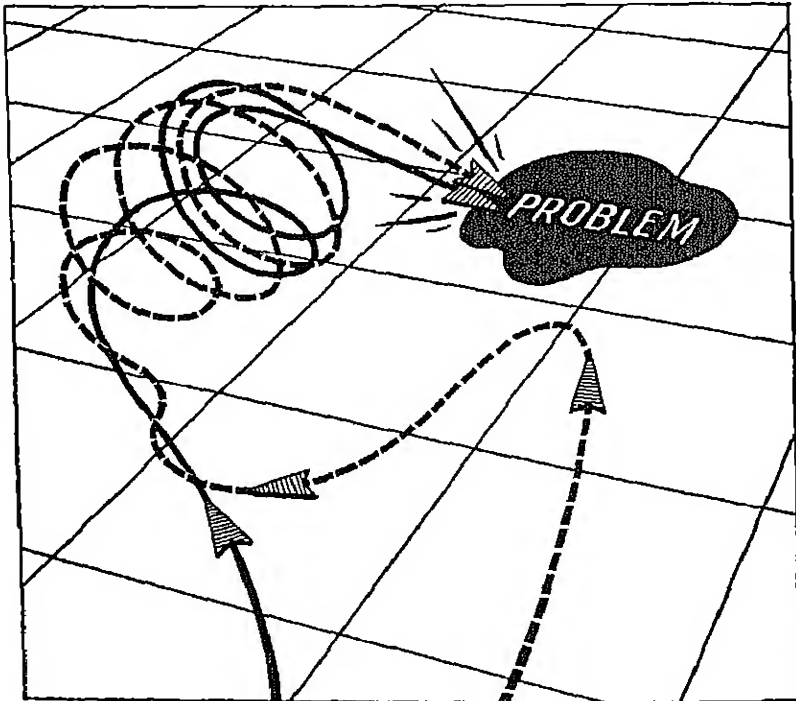
In the rural south the present writer was most impressed with this fact. There it chanced, over and over again, that new ideas—to build a cooperative cannery or community sweet potato curing house, to form a farmers' union, to institute a community-problems curriculum, to think of another race as human—all these social changes were brought about through common councils by leadership in which those present had come to feel confidence through close and happy acquaintance.

Because there is no substitute for personal trust, it is idle to expect that the cold directive from constituted authority—whether a law, or an instruction sheet from the Superintendent of Schools, or an inert text book, or someone's prized mimeographed outline of a course of study,

can be a vital instrument of social change. Nor yet the most emphatic exhortation nor the dramatic self-selling of the revivalist. These are momentary in effect at the best. Nothing takes the place of personal acquaintance and trust in the agent of change

This principle applies to the very process of group creation of ideas itself. Given a group in which each member knows the others well, there is yet a need to trust the process of group decision. This trust, as in all other cases, comes from personal experience. No fiat, no short-cut, will supply the essential requisites of time to get acquainted, time to try it out, time to arrive at conviction of good promise in the purposes and the methods of a proposal.

If these things be true, they only serve to illustrate that all social action, whether it be the daily conduct of family



relationships, the abolition of undemocratic segregation, or the institution of intercultural education, depends upon the kind of human relationships from which the action grows. Thus it is clear that an understanding of human dynamics and skill in good human relations practices are necessities to any successful educational process. But beyond this elemental fact, these understandings and skills are equally essential to democracy and education in it.

It has been said above that not the text but the teacher's treatment of children, not the directive but the administrator's way of dealing with people, will determine their success. Yet either these are false notions, or professional education is a ponderous denial of them.

By and large the teaching of teachers and administrators is focussed on "content," on subject matter. Even the courses in "method" have to do primarily with means for "covering ground," explicating the text.

Courses in educational psychology too often are dull, too often have to do with a quantity of facts and theory regarding mechanisms of behavior, and too seldom take off from the problems encountered daily by students and teachers.

Further, it may happen—indeed, it often does—that the professor is a decent fellow and that some hint of his moral values creeps into his dealings with students. Yet even so, this is far from the goal of conscious, planned, thinking, experiment, and discussion of the basic factor in living and education—human relationships.

Now, assuming that all this is to be changed, what steps would be taken? How could it be brought about that the school and the schoolmaster become conscious, wise and skillful instruments of social change¹ rather than unwitting and ignorant tools of tradition and authority?

¹ The school's hallowed function as the repository and torch-passer of cultural tradition is not to be ignored or forfeited. Yet it is assumed that when children learn anything, they create new patterns; when teachers pass on anything they transmute it (*sometimes, alas, into baser metal*).

To answer this question, the group contributing to this JOURNAL has undertaken much planning, experiment, evaluation and new exploration based on all three. The answer to be given presently is offered with the modesty which comes from awareness of the rich possibilities and from conviction of the magnitude of the task, and the primitive beginnings that are all that can be shown to date. In its essentials, the building of sound human relations education seems to comprise the following elements (dealt with by Brameld):

1. Definition and commitment to a social ideal — that of democracy.
2. Development of a philosophy of program
3. Development of theory and practice through constant experiment and clinical analysis.

It is with the third of these that this paper is chiefly concerned.

THEORY:

Nothing is of more practical significance than the theory, the assumptions, the often unstated propositions to be proved by the practitioner. This is obvious to the teacher, social worker, or administrator who finds himself constantly faced with decisions, wishes to make them well, and therefore needs principles rather than rules to apply to the ever-varying nuances of human behavior.

In Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, there is set forth at some length the picture of education by "conditioning" and repetition. This education springs from a theory about why we act the way we do—Behaviorism. In many actual schools, this false and mechanical view of life is honored by rigid rules and regurgitative recitations which depend upon something called "habit formation" and which would more accurately be called "stultification and ossification of inquiry."

Other theories have other implications. For example, the Adlerian theory of the urge to dominate leads to interpretation of human motives as rebellion against authority. A Rank or a Rogers sees "will-to-creation," on the contrary, as central.

Many school staff members simply say of all that is comprised under theory of human dynamics: "You can't change human nature." The statement is true, *you* can't, but you can help the individual change it. And the implication that certain distressing tendencies to ill-behavior are born to be is, of course, nonsense. If nature were so fixed, we would be an animal, not a human society and there never would have been a Jesus, Gautama, Bach or Einstein.

It seems much the most valid, as well as the most challenging theory, is that which posits the centrality of growth and the urge to growth. It assumes an intense creativeness and the intelligence to deal with problems in all normal persons. In effect, then, it is observable that human beings grow, and desire to grow, to develop all their capacities. This is true so far as we know of *all* normal human beings in all societies. And it is equally true that *all* desire to belong, to have affection and recognition.

At once, when these basic elements are accepted as such, and when the field theory of a universe—of people as of energy—is conceived as "creative-emergent," the process of human relations education is off to a sound and a flying start. And, impressively enough, it is a process which identifies the goal of democracy—equal opportunity and freedom for the fullest development of all men—with the essential strivings of the person and the constant creative changes in the universe.

PRACTICE:

From such theory, and its development by use and test, comes the core task of good education and good relation-

ships. That task is to find the most effective, efficient means for releasing the full energies and exercising the full capacities of each person through a social discipline aimed at the cooperation of each in the endless process of securing the development of all others. The chief goods of a democratic society are the contributions, the mounting enrichment, which come from inclusion, as opposed to exclusion, from joy in "the different" as opposed to fear of it.

BLUEPRINT:

The introductory remarks above, are all very well, but they are meaningless until implemented. The best implementation must be that which is made by the group as artist—in a particular form for a particular time, place, personnel and problem. Thus we must beware of organizing a good idea in a way which will kill it, or at least clamp a cover upon its bloom and buds.

Yet we are trained to expect formulas and blueprints, and however false these may be if taken too seriously, their merit is great. They give us something to talk about, to try, and to improve on.

The blueprint for democratic human relations education may be drawn as one which has four dimensions. These are: scope, organization, content, and renewal through evaluation and new planning.

Where there are two persons, there are human relations problems to be solved well or ill, democratically or undemocratically. Even a solitary man on a desert island has his own, his human relations to the world. Therefore, *nihil humanum alienum est*, and, still more pertinently, *nihil inhumanum*. Tension and conflict which are destructive of man's full potential are our first concern, and through study and treatment of them we may come, as the medical man through attention to pathology, to a better understanding not only of how to restore health but of health itself.

Of all the tensions and conflicts we will do well to take those most urgent for our first attention. These comprise inner conflict as well as outer, for the understanding of self is a necessary prelude to the understanding of others, the tools with which each can work are insights as well as institutions and materials.

We will be concerned primarily with the most urgent destructive conflicts. We will also be concerned with those which are most strategic for our purpose. The self, Negro-white relations, religious divisiveness, social and economic class antagonisms are examples of conflicts of strategic importance.

We will narrow the focus, also, by beginning with disfunctions in working groups to which we belong. The place of greatest possibility is in our own backyards, where we daily exercise some control, play some meaningful part. And, in a larger sense, we will work thus through institutions—the family, the social agency, the school, government, etc. These institutions offer organizational structure and continuity. They involve a group approach which has special advantages in bringing about change involving great numbers of people through better means than the well-meant appeal to the heart of each man without immediate opportunity to put conviction into practice and be sustained by belonging.

We will work, educationally, not by force

Still more specifically—

We will establish as central in schools of education the examination and practice of human relations education

1. Through joint purpose, jointly arrived at
2. Through joint planning
3. Through joint work
4. Through joint evaluation.

Since purpose is democratic, it will search out activities of most benefit to all. It will lead to immediate action. Staff

and students will undertake projects in school and community, finding the urgent problems, trying their solution. Staff and students will examine their practices clinically—what works and why? What doesn't work and why? Staff and students will extend their clinical questions, their unsolved problems into the setting up of propositions to be tested by research, and will test them. Staff and students will draw from all the human sciences the principles and data which seem most valuable to employ. Staff and students will translate their findings to others, sharing their wisdom and detailing ignorance so that it can be reduced.

This can happen in all teachers colleges, in all schools, in all families, in all social agencies, in government, in all institutions of living. Its precise form must grow from the working group itself.

What is described, is a process of endless search and endless development of personality through devotion to the ideal of maximum growth of all. It will require, and once glimpsed, will attract, the boundless devotion and energy which can transform hostility into curiosity, competition into cooperation, ignorance into understanding, and a narrowing into a freeing society.

If this be done, it shall be done by all men in the interest of each man. It shall be done by ways of which we now see only the beginning. It shall be done by infinite acts of creation and not by unthinking rule

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SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF FLEXIBILITY IN THE HUMAN ORGANISM

John Rockwell

Some years ago I was in one of the wild rice camps of the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota. An Indian had introduced an ingenious variation in the parching of the rice. He had attached an oil barrel to the axle of a Model T car. This rotated over a fire. The result was a speedy and effective method of drying the rice. Not only was the parching process handled quicker, but the rice was superior in quality. The grains were whole and not shattered as was common under the old method.

Here was a new tool which I have no doubt is still used and will continue to be used until a better process is devised. Instances such as this are numerous in all groups of people. The ease with which people will adopt a new tool is proverbial. Tools and their adoption seem to transcend tribal and cultural boundaries with little difficulty. Has any group, once its people have learned the principle of the wheel, given it up? Even among people differing radically in their social values, there is a common acceptance of mechanical devices. Group animosities seldom extend to instruments.

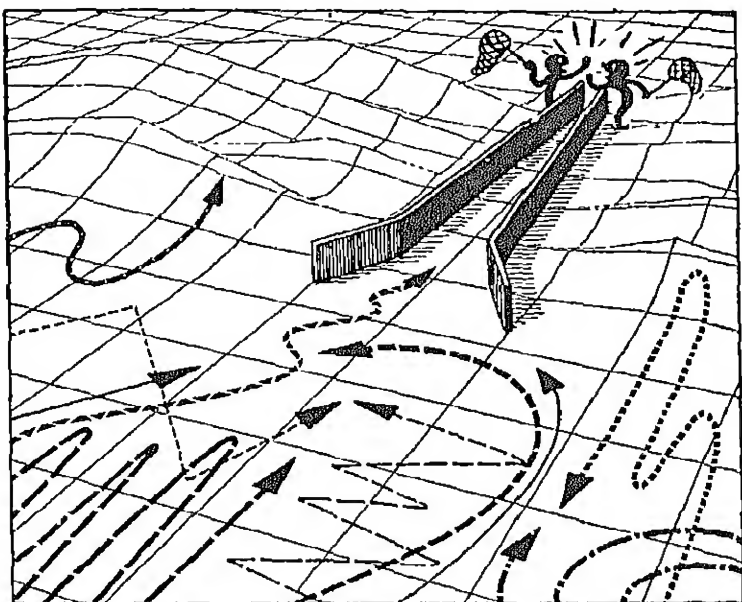
We sometimes speak of static cultures thereby implying little or no change. At times we even deplore the lethargy in our own culture and call attention to the fact that the values incorporated in our institutions need reevaluation and change. Or again we bolster our faith by taking refuge in such highly uncritical terms as "human nature," forgetting that human nature is seldom the automatic expression of original nature uninfluenced by experience and learning.

In the contrasting behavior of people toward tools and the values inherent in their institutions certain things

emerge that need examination. Why is it, one may ask, that people do not show the same resistance toward the adoption of a new tool that they display in many other areas of inter-person and inter-group relations? Is it because the utility of the tool is so easily recognized? Or is it because it is hard to personalize tools in terms of language? A tool is a thing, subject, in the thinking of the user, to his own mastery. It, therefore, seems to be more remote from the area of inter-person or inter-group relations. No complex language is needed to describe its purpose. Its value does not need to be defended, because all can recognize clearly its utility. It is accepted with ease and with little of the elaborate ritualization that characterizes a congealed social habit or prejudice.

But in the field of values—and back of all institutions are bodies of clearly articulated values—there seems to be little of the flexibility that people manifest toward the adoption and use of mechanical instruments. Here real lethargy is often displayed toward change although change might be clearly indicated. A racial prejudice can, for instance, persist for long periods of time even in the presence of obvious disadvantage to a large part of the group.

Strange to say this cultural lag or resistance is quite as characteristic of the ultra-radical as it is of the ultra-conservative. The conservative wants no fundamental change; social institutions, in his thinking, satisfy his needs. Change would be disturbing and inconvenient. The radical on the other hand wants drastic change in the social institutions. He is willing to scrap the old institutions and values and substitute the new ones of his particular cult or "ism". However, where this has been done he in turn becomes ultra-conservative in the new order. He welcomes few changes in the values of the new social order. He deals harshly with any individual who deviates from the new pattern. And he is willing to go to extreme lengths—even



to the distortion of truth—to articulate values that quickly acquire ritualistic expression and that all members of the group must overtly adhere to. With both the conservative and the radical change is not sought when a position of power is once attained. Both, seemingly, place their emphasis upon value absolutes. Both also violate certain facts about human behavior that must be seriously considered in any careful examination of man in relation to his environment, both physical and personal.

It is trite to call attention to the fact that human behavior is never a constant. Variability seems to be a fundamental law of the universe. The expression of that principle is everywhere apparent. Modified behavior expresses itself in clinical medical pathology, in the often unnoticed adjustments necessary to maintain what Cannon calls "homeostasis"—a state of equilibrium—and particularly in the degree to which man, through that remarkable process memory, can retain impressions of experience and bring them to bear upon the solution of new problems. Constants, in so far as they exist, seem to be merely states of quies-

cence, in which no primary problem disturbs the individual.

The external and internal world, or environment, of cells is a constantly changing one. And what applies to particular cells applies to the organism as a whole. Individually and collectively cells undergo modification in their need for adjustment, or else they carry within themselves, or the mechanisms which control them, a far greater range for variable performance than is sometimes suspected. Seven-eighths of the pancreas of a dog can be removed without a resulting diabetes; the heart, under emergency, can carry eight times its usual load without a resulting pathology, the kidney can secrete upward of twelve times its usual amount of water. These are but a few of the functional variations that characterize most tissues of the living organism. The dynamics of the living organism seem to rest upon mechanisms capable of great variation. There are limits, of course, through which the potential behavior may vary, but those limits are not as confined as many people imply in the loose use of such a word as "human nature," or in the static implications in "isms" of various groups.

Biology, Sociology and Psychology offer numerous examples of adjustment mechanisms, or behavior variation potential. Many, perhaps most, have great utility value. If one goes from a low to a high altitude there is a rapid increase in red blood cells, the oxygen carriers. Heat has been shown to be effective in producing modification in the fruit fly or to bring out characteristics that do not ordinarily appear. Transplants in some species are possible, at least up to a certain stage in embryological development. If liver tissue is transplanted to a remote area it does not become liver tissue but takes on the character of its surrounding tissue. Transplanting the optic cup results in the differentiation of the neighboring skin into a lens. Sex reversal is possible, at least as regards the secondary sex

characteristics. The X-ray can be used to produce monstrosities, thus indicating gene variation or annihilation. Diphtheria germs grown in a protein medium possess more virulent and deadly qualities than those grown in a carbohydrate medium.

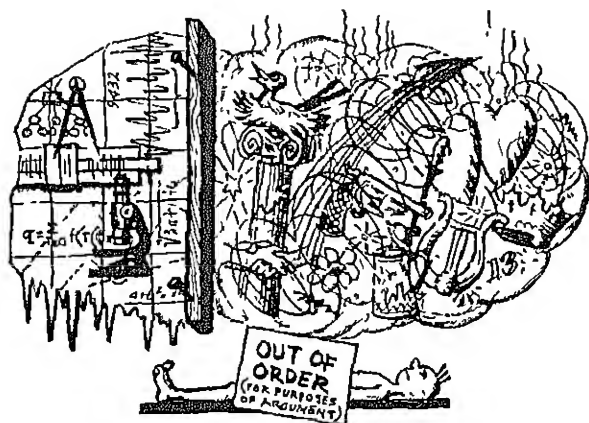
As with Biology, so in Sociology and Psychology there exists much content to indicate that the organism is not static, that it does not perform with statistical prediction accuracy. In both of these fields the extensive use of statistical procedures is necessary because observation and experimental approaches are never so accurate that all the variables operating can be controlled. Such a condition introduces error. The experimentalist protects himself against rash over-generalization of data through the use of statistical measures which give him some measure of the degree to which his observations exceed those of mere chance observations.

But it is in the field of learning that the Sociologist and Psychologist have contributed much to the understanding of this broad principle of biological design, variation. Let us conceive if we can what life would be like were it not for the fact that, intrinsic in the dynamics of the living organism, is the capacity to retain impressions of experience and to utilize experience in meeting new problems. Without the capacity to learn there would be no art, no science, no social organization, no values, and no capacity to meet new situations, except in so far as we could vary our reflex mechanisms. Life would be lived, if at all, on a low order of reflex activity. Movement and activity would be greatly restricted. The great variations in the environment, such as climatic variations, would exert a tremendous toll in life. It is hardly conceivable that any organism could survive. Certainly if survival were at all possible, we would not be talking or writing about it. Writing and talking are made possible only through an elaborate learning process.

that man alone seems to have the capacity to exercise. The differentiation of the hand and the larynx through the process of evolution has made possible the attributes of speech and writing. But along with that differentiation went another of equal importance. The evolution of the brain, through its increasing complexity and functional flexibility, permitted the activity of learning to become a highly significant function of the organism in its efforts to adjust in a hostile universe. Perception, judgment, imagination, personality, even such things as fears are highly, if not almost completely, conditioned by the activity of learning. Pavlov has shown that even such primary native mechanisms as reflexes can be conditioned, a learning process!

But learning can also make for stability. In fact that seems to be its primary purpose. When the old mode of conduct is not adequate to meet the demands of a new situation learning takes place and remains to function as habit until new and other conditions again force a change. Dogma utilizes this fact extensively. It is strengthened immeasurably by the fact that anything that disturbs the state of rest or quiescence compels adjustment, and adjustment is not always easy or pleasant. Such factors are at the base of social lethargy and resistance to change.

Space does not permit an enlargement of this topic. But one other thing needs to be mentioned. It is common—probably because it is easy—to frequently make a distinction between intellect and emotion, as if a real dichotomy exists and they were two quite entirely separate things. It is doubtful whether any really good defense could be made for such a distinction. Rather, it would be more nearly correct to assume that they are both aspects of the adjustment process and that they are inextricably bound up—together with numerous other physical-chemical adjustment mechanisms within the organism—in all types of adjust-



ments that cannot be met quickly and easily by reflex action. Does anyone ever think or believe without feeling? Does not action, at least as regards any novel situation, demand attention and new modes of procedure? Is learning ever accomplished without motivation and is motivation ever free from feeling, emotion if you will?

As with the dichotomy between intellect and emotion, so one meets confusion in the use of such words as the "self", "ego", etc. Some users almost imply that they are entities, not too much different from the concept of "soul". Might it not be said, and with greater force, that the "self", the "ego", etc., are merely the memory residues of past reactions, inter-person reactions and otherwise? If we had not the capacity to adjust to new situations—usually by glandular and muscular adjustments—and to retain through memory the impressions of those reactions, it is doubtful we would have any concept of self.

But what relation does all this have to social change? Social change can be and will be undertaken whenever enough people find that present conditions do not meet their needs. They may be retarded in the accomplishment of change by habits of thought—dogma—that certain groups find advantageous to cultivate in others. In this the

extreme radical is to be mistrusted as much as the extreme conservative. Both pin their faith upon institutions which, once initiated, must proceed with little change.

Such a position is not in harmony with the organization principles of living tissue. Within the amazingly complex and mysterious mechanism, a human being, vast powers for adjustment reside. Not only that, every individual differs from every other individual by native inheritance and by the experiences he has encountered. These two conditions make every individual truly unique. That such unique individuals have been able to accomplish in the process of time this complex achievement that we call civilization, is a testimonial to man's flexibility and capacity to learn. The greatest single danger which confronts him are his own self-imposed restrictions, his resistance to giving up old habits and his unwillingness to try new modes of behavior.

Upon the shoulders of the people who articulate our values, be they churchmen, politicians or educators, rests the heavy weight of being the initiators or retarders of action. Irrespective of the role they play, nature has provided lavishly for variable performance. Is it not possible that in this variable performance from person to person and within the same person, bolstered by and unified through man's remarkable ability to learn, there is suggested that type of social organization most likely to meet man's needs? The question is forced whether that type of social organization that permits people easy access to facts and the opportunity to exercise choice in relation to them is not the only one that can articulate values and insure social ordering compatible with man's original nature.

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SOCIAL ACTION AND EDUCATION

Dan W. Dodson

Perhaps one of the most promising aspects of the emerging field of human relations is the inclusion of programs of social action to complement those of education. In the 1920's George S. Counts was writing on "Dare the School Build a New Social Order?" There was much discussion as to whether or not education possessed the dynamic with which to move the social process. Obviously there were many conflicting points of view. Some believed that education was so completely in the hands of vested interests which represent the *status quo* that it was sterile so far as social change was concerned. Many good people left the teaching profession, or else were not attracted to it in the beginning, because of the lack of faith in education as a social force. This author recalls in some of his graduate work the impatience of graduate students in discussing social problems because the professors seemed contented to discuss them as "problems" rather than concern themselves with the techniques for solution. I recall that one of the professors always said, "When you have studied a problem and understood it, you have done something about it." With Sumner as their Bible, these professors of yesteryear—as well as many of their colleagues of today—dwelt at length upon the necessity of remaining "objective" and were careful to point out how "you can't get ahead of the mores."

This pattern of thought in the education world drew a dichotomy between social action and education. Perhaps its illustration is represented in the life of W. E. B. DuBois.* He started his career as a social scientist who felt that an annual compendium of research on the "Negro" would be the fastest method of improving Negro-white re-

* Dusk of Dawn

lations. One year in Atlanta, however, while on the way downtown, he met a Negro running the opposite direction who cried, "For God's sake, don't go down there. They killed a Negro, cut off his hand and have it displayed in a store window." The sensitivity of DuBois' soul was so disturbed that he wrote, *LITANY OF ATLANTA* and after the Niagra Conference, came to New York City to head the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In DuBois' thinking as well as the thinking of the educational fraternity as a whole at that time, social action and education were two completely different things.

Today we realize that there is no dichotomy between social action and education. The one is a necessary complement to the other. For a long time, Educational Sociology leadership has contended that education had not taken place until behavior was changed. The criteria of health education, for instance, must be the improvement of health in the community. The criteria of the effectiveness of programs in human relations is not to be measured in the bales of literature produced, the speeches made, or even the development of "conflict-free ritualized" relations between children in school, but rather in the improvement of inter-group relations in the social milieu in which people function, namely the community.

In order to accomplish this change of patterns of community life, it is not sufficient to change individual's attitudes. There must be a concern with the change of the group and institutional structure through which prejudices and cleavages are channeled. There is considerable evidence to indicate that the production of social change today depends less upon attitudes of individuals than upon moving the position of social institutions. If documentation of this point is needed one has only to look at the way in which the peoples of the world are pleading for peace and note the difficulty of moving the position of the institutions

of government in that direction. Yet the major emphasis on peace education is focused toward changing individual's attitudes. The one thing we learned about integration as a result of the war, was that where management at the top took a firm, positive stand there was no difficulty in integrating Negroes and whites. In public housing in New York City some one hundred thousand families are living in peace and harmony on a completely integrated basis because management, which was public, took the position from the beginning that this is "public housing" and being *public*, it is open to whoever qualifies, irrespective of race, creed, or color. In the four and one-half years during which I was Executive Director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, there were not more than two evictions growing out of disputes between people of different ethnic backgrounds and neither of these disputes had its origin in ethnic differences. The institutional position in the community, unlike the individual's position—except where the individual is clotured within the vestments of an institutional office—represents vested interests and usually represents the *status quo*. There is no formula yet known to this author where vested interests give up their preferred position without resistance. We have not learned Joshua's technique of bringing down the walls of Jericho by blowing the horn.

The foregoing statements have not been made to depreciate the role of education as a cultural dynamic. It is obvious that when behaviors are changed, people are educated. The emphasis has been, however, designed to place social action as a necessary complement to education and in many respects, scarcely distinguishable from it.

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIAL ACTION

An assessment of the techniques of social action is difficult to make at the present time. A few suggestions, however, will suffice to indicate the directions in which it is important in human relations.

(1) Action Through Involvement

With the rapid development of the field of group dynamics, considerable technology is being designed to produce social change by involving those who represent the interests which must be changed in a *social process*. There are varying degrees of effectiveness of such a procedure. Consideration is needed to know which levels of intergroup conflict can be changed and which cannot through such a process. It is the author's opinion that types of conflict in the realm of values *per se* can be changed much more rapidly by this procedure than those which involve giving up vested interests. The social technician also faces the problem of whether he is using the processes or whether *he* is being used by forces which wish to use the process as a stall. One of the finer points of judgment in the field of social action is, undoubtedly, that of deciding when or to what extent to "trust the process." The *involvement-in-process* approach is rapidly slanting education toward community-school programs in which the dichotomy between the school (in the sense of scholastics) and community is being erased. At the Center for Human Relations Studies, we are undertaking a project in cooperation with the Board of Education of New York City in which we are working in the community and in the school without too clear lines of demarcation as to where one begins and the other ends. This approach is based on the assumption that it would be impossible to move the school without moving the community and *vice versa*.

(2) The Pressure Group Technique

There are times when it is clear that the social technician cannot trust the process. In these instances to bother with involvement would represent a waste of time. Thus there is no alternative but to resort to the "soap box" or whatever means are available to change institutional patterns. In some respects, of course, this represents a nega-

tive approach to communal well-being. It is unfortunate that to this point we have no panacea, particularly in the larger communities, for bad government except "vote and throw the rascals out." Agencies of government as well as other institutional structures know this public apathy well. As a consequence, they are particularly sensitive to pressure group technique. There is scarcely a larger community but that the average citizen would come nearer getting change effected by knowing the pressure groups in the community than by the merits of his program—this includes the school.

At this point the technician must weigh in the balance the outcome of the long and short range effect of his action. Indeed, in the immediate and short run there is a heightening of tension as groups clash over differences. The ultimate assessment must be in terms of whether the broken barriers make up for such increase in group consciousness. When the Mayor's Committee on Unity started the fight against discrimination in colleges and universities in New York State, we faced frankly the possibility that the agitation and discussion would create greater a consciousness of who were Jews, Negroes, etc., and who were not, than had been true before. But it was clear that we were fighting a losing battle and that the quotas were becoming more rigid instead of flexible, hence the decision to make a fight of it. This has been undoubtedly true in many of the legislative cases which the NAACP has won against the South—cases which have made great advances in intergroup relations.

(3) Legislation and Legal Action

Fortunately the people of the country had heard little of Sumner and the mores and differed from the social scientist as to what could be accomplished through legislation. It is now clear that legislation and legal action can be some of the most formidable tools in social change. It may be true that attitudes cannot be changed by law, but it is be-

ing increasingly demonstrated, as indicated above, that the change of institutional policies and regulation of institutional practice (things which *can* be changed by law) goes a long way in by-passing the bias of individuals. Thus, the attitude of the employer is not so important if his institution cannot discriminate in its employment practices. Furthermore, by breaking the barriers to integration, individuals are brought together on an unselfconscious basis so that they have an opportunity to know each other in roles different from group stereotypes. Perhaps the most important facet of legislation is the fact that there is "public definition of policy" as a guide, not only to one institution, but to all the institutions in the community. As I indicated in the article on "Religious Prejudice in American Colleges,"* no college felt that it could afford to remove the barriers to minority groups alone, but with public definition of policy on admission practices, all the institutions in the state were able to bring their policies in line at the same time and the fears of none were kindled. Another significant illustration of this pattern is demonstrated in New Jersey. Over a long period of years with all of the education, preaching, pleading, hoping, praying and trusting, the segregation of Negroes and whites in the public schools was becoming increasingly evident. It was when the position of the social institutions of public education were changed through the development of the new state constitution and legislation, that segregation started on its way out. This is not to say that education did not have its effect nor to depreciate its value, but it is to say that in the last analysis the job is not completed nor significantly improved in most cases until the institutional patterns are changed.

It should be clear from these suggested aspects of social action that fruitful approaches to human relations are being developed by forging of new conceptions of the func-

* *American Mercury*, July 1946

tion of education and not the least significant of the new conceptions is the closing of the gap between education *per se* and social action.

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RELATION OF SOCIAL CHANGE TO THE ECONOMIC BASES OF SOCIETY

Robert C. Weaver

I.

Despite the current vogue of psychological approaches to human relations—most recently expressed by the definition of the minority problem in the United States as one of hatred—almost all students admit that economic interests, institutions and conditions influence behavior. The real issue is one of degree. There are those who find the key to total understanding in economics; others minimize the economic factors. Emphasis upon these latter factors here is not an acceptance of a dogmatic economic interpretation of history, which asserts that men are, consciously or unconsciously, actuated primarily by economic motives only. My purpose is to discuss economic factors while admitting that there is no single, all-important cause of human behavior or basis for human values.

In approaching this problem, I shall lean heavily upon Negro-white relations in the United States, since this phase of human relations dramatically illustrates the principles I wish to set forth. In this frame of reference, the rise, perpetuation and spread of the color line will be out-

lined. Then, the implications of a mobile, middle-class society for human relations will be outlined; and, finally, the role of power relationships in social change will be discussed.

II.

Because the vast majority of whites in the South never owned any slaves, the few who had a special interest in perpetuating slavery found it necessary to develop means of identifying their obvious interests with those of a much wider segment of the population. This was accomplished by introducing and popularizing the concept of the inherent superiority of all whites and establishing a color line to symbolize and assure its manifestation.

By a process of manipulation and propaganda, the poor whites' hatred of the plantation system was transferred to a hatred of their fellow victims of it—the Negro slaves. And this did not appear clearly until human slavery had become extremely profitable and firmly established in the South. The working people of the region, who ultimately became the most vocal supporters of the color line, did not stress race until guided in that direction by the economic control groups in the area. The masses became transmission belts once the society had been conditioned for the development, slavery and the plantation system created economic insecurity for all who remained outside their direct influence.

In the North, arrival of large segments of immigrants created a somewhat similar situation. As the composition of the newcomers from Europe shifted from groups which were highly skilled to those which had no special skills, competition for unskilled work increased with the result that wages were adversely affected and unemployment mounted. Again, as in the plantation South, animosities and hatreds were evidenced in the working classes that had the least security and social position. These feelings

were, in fact, expression of resentment against insecurity—a feature of the economy that affected the unskilled with peculiar severity and the nature of which was adroitly concealed as workers accepted employers' emphasis upon ethnic differences. The fact that intergroup hatreds and conflicts in the North often had the latest white migrant groups as the scapegoat reflects the economic basis of the animosity. There was, of course, one fundamental difference in the immigrants' status. They had never been in bondage in the New World, nor did they have the badge of color which served to differentiate the Negro and remind others of his previous conditions of servitude and the disruptive consequences of slavery.

After the Civil War, the color occupational system which developed perpetuated the concept of the Negro as an inferior being at the same time that it established institutions to assure his inferior status. It served to conceal the basic nature of economic problems and colored them with racial situations. This, in turn, facilitated extremely low wages for Southern white industrial workers—part of their compensation was the fact that they were doing white men's work. Existence of a wage differential based on color constituted a constant reminder to the white worker that black labor was a potential threat to its security on the job, while it intensified the black worker's resentment toward his better-paid white competitor. This same differential also served as an effective impediment to organization of either white or black labor. Its continuation was assured by the disfranchisement of all Negroes and a large segment of the white population.

In the North the Negro was not a sizeable element in the labor market. The white worker became conscious of him, however, because of the cultural significance attached to color (rooted in the institution of American slavery), and the use of Negroes as strike-breakers. The latter prac-

tice weakened the labor movement at the same time that it created a wave of animosity toward the black worker in northern industrial centers. Negroes, who by tradition and early experience were, for the most part, anti-union, became more so as they were introduced in competition with whites.

The process was to be repeated in the instance of the Mexican in the United States. As Carey McWilliams has observed: "By keeping Mexicans segregated occupationally, employers have created a situation in which the skilled labor groups have naturally regarded the Mexicans as *group* competitors rather than as individual employees. . . . In some areas, as in west Texas, it is also apparent that the use which has been made of Mexican labor has tended to drive out Anglo-American small farmers and tenants. . . . While the conflict has always been economic, it has consistently been rationalized as racial or cultural in character."

Just as a wage and occupational differential based on color had its roots in the economic interests of a small minority of whites in the South, so residential segregation in the North had its real and sophisticated champions in a small group of property owners, real estate operators, and land speculators. In the South, the mass of whites soon confused their own economic ills with a dark scapegoat. So in the North, the mass of whites confused their problems of property values, inadequate housing, and urban decay with a racial issue.

Residential segregation pays off in terms of artificially high rents and selling prices. It sustains real estate on which, were there a free market, revenue and values would decline. It permits operators in the Negro, Mexican, or Chinese ghetto to ignore competitive occupancy and maintenance standards. Equally important, residential segrega-

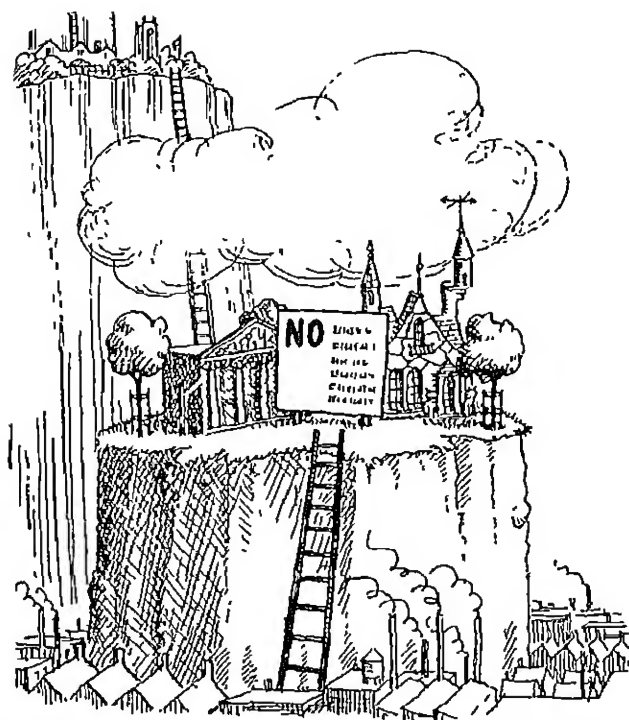
tion is a feature in the sales appeal of exclusive residential areas; increasingly it is becoming a part of salesmanship in most urban real estate.

III.

The importance attached to color in the United States has its historical roots in slavery and its aftermath. These institutions were established long ago by the then dominant economic control groups in the South. The attitudes and patterns that resulted have, in turn, been perpetuated by a large element in the population.

To understand the tenacity of discrimination in the United States, one must comprehend the implications of a mobile, competitive, predominantly middle class society. Much attention has been paid to the competitive nature of our culture, but social and economic mobility have less frequently been associated with social change. While it is generally recognized that fear of downward movement is important in creating susceptibility to prejudice against minority groups, less attention has been given to the effects of upward mobility upon the *actions* of individuals and groups in situation where variations in social patterns are involved. Our social arrangements, because they involve and create insecurity incident to social position, join economic insecurity in producing individuals who feel the need of a scapegoat. This fact alone, however, does not explain why other societies with large racial minorities and economic insecurity have not developed a comparable color line.

In the United States a large segment of the population is dedicated to improving its economic and social status. People so inspired adopt peculiar behavior and acquire unique needs. They constantly seek contacts that will enhance their chances of arrival into a higher economic or social group. This involves participation in a social set that has standing or belonging to a desirable club. It is reflected



in changing affiliation to a more prestige-laden church and attempts to get children into schools where social contacts will be helpful in accelerating their mobility. One of its most striking expressions is the urge to move into an exclusive neighborhood.

Such activity encourages conformity with what seems to be accepted norms of behavior. Group exclusiveness and acceptance of discrimination against minorities, as well as existing attitudes toward economic and social problems, can be and are easily emulated in this social setting. The culture places few impediments upon their expression, while offering rewards for their acceptance, consequently social and economic pressures constantly influence and often determine individuals' acceptance toward the groups involved. These same pressures, of course, serve to modify and mold attitudes.

Analysis of the American scene suggests that the combination of social mobility (itself an attribute of our economic system) and economic instability (with resulting competition for jobs among the working elements and general uncertainty for most elements in the nation) has been important in maintaining the color line. Despite a tradition of Negro slavery and large non-white populations, Brazil and Puerto Rico have not established similar color attitudes and patterns. Charles Rolger's description of the Puerto Rican situation is instructive.

Questions of status are of slight importance to a class of people whose economic condition has for generations remained on a subsistence level, and whose folkways, attitudes, moral and religious values are so closely woven into this subsistence economy as to produce a comparatively well-organized person. This condition tends to produce a class whose wishes lie close to reality. Forces which produce competition, social differentiation, conflict, and struggle for status are constrained by this traditional social inertia.

In the lower class [in Puerto Rico] where the only "stable" factor is economic insecurity, where slight advantages in economic status continuously shift from person to person, and where mutual aid is a survival expedient, there is neither need of nor any process to produce any socially differentiated set of traditional status-producing values. Dominance and subordination on any basis are out of character within a comparatively isolated class whose activities are organized around the elemental process of satisfying basic human needs. Such conditions do not nurture fears that Negroes will displace whites. Fear that the Negro will achieve equal or higher status is of little consequence when status and values that produce it are incidental and transitory.

The low standards of living and absence of a large middle class in Puerto Rico and Brazil are consequences of the economic orders in these two areas. Under such conditions, there have been few advantages to dominant economic control groups involved in perpetuating a color bar. There had been, prior to the penetration of values dominant in the United States, few social or economic advantages for individuals who displayed pronounced color consciousness. In

both places, some of the mixed bloods had long augmented the ranks of the dominant European strains in exploiting the mass of the population of all racial backgrounds.

IV.

In any society, there are those who, because of power or prestige, or both, establish values and patterns of behavior for others. These values and patterns, while not always wholly acceptable, do exert enormous influence, becoming often in the course of time the accepted norms around which the society tends to evolve. Frequently they are based on myths, and repeatedly they have been slogans or by-words which are accepted without critical analysis. Just as there are positive values, so there are negative ones. Certain types of behavior are rewarded, others are penalized. This is equally true of democratic capitalism or totalitarian Communism. **AND MOST OF THE VALUES COME FROM THE TOP BE IT DOMINATED BY THE RULING FAMILIES OR THE PARTY.**

Social change, therefore, is related to power. When the rate of change is slow, it is reflected in slight shifts in power controls; when there are rapid changes in power relations, social change is most pronounced. A major economic depression, a world war, or a cold war of ideologies involves revolutionary changes in the thinking of a people. To a slightly lesser degree, they occasion ideological and institutional changes. The latter, in turn, breed shifts in power controls. Recent events in the United States illustrate the process.

As a consequence of the Great Depression, the social reforms of the New Deal, the fact of full employment during the war and high levels of employment in the post-war period, the people of this nation are convinced that depressions are man-made and subject to control. They demand, therefore, that government take action to prevent serious unemployment and cushion against the insecurities of a

laissez faire economy. We, as a nation are committed to attempt to secure sustained high levels of employment. This involves a major change in the conception of the role of government in the economic life of the nation, even though there is far from agreement as to the means through which our new goal is to be achieved and despite the fact that the concept of public action to assure high levels of employment is constantly being sniped at.

Such a reversal in traditional attitudes has not come about without involving many other changes. One of the most outstanding has been the new position of labor in the nation. Over three-quarters of the persons working in the United States today are employees, most of whom expect to remain on the payroll of someone else. As a consequence, forty per cent of the non-supervisory and non-technical workers in private industries are organized in trade unions which now have over 14,000,000 members. During the last war labor unions not only increased their numerical and economic strength, but they also became a major political force. As Professor Slichter has noted:

The American economy is a laboristic economy, or at least is rapidly becoming one. By this I mean that employees are the most influential group in the community and that the economy is run in their interest more than in the interest of any other economic group. A community composed almost entirely of employees must be expected to have its own distinctive culture — its own industrial institutions, its own public policies, and its own jurisprudence. The fact that employees are supplementing business men as the most influential group in the community means that far-reaching changes are impending in the civilization of the United States.

While this is probably an overstatement, it does indicate a direction in American life. It also reflects accurately the intensity, if not the results, of modifications that are occurring on the economic front.

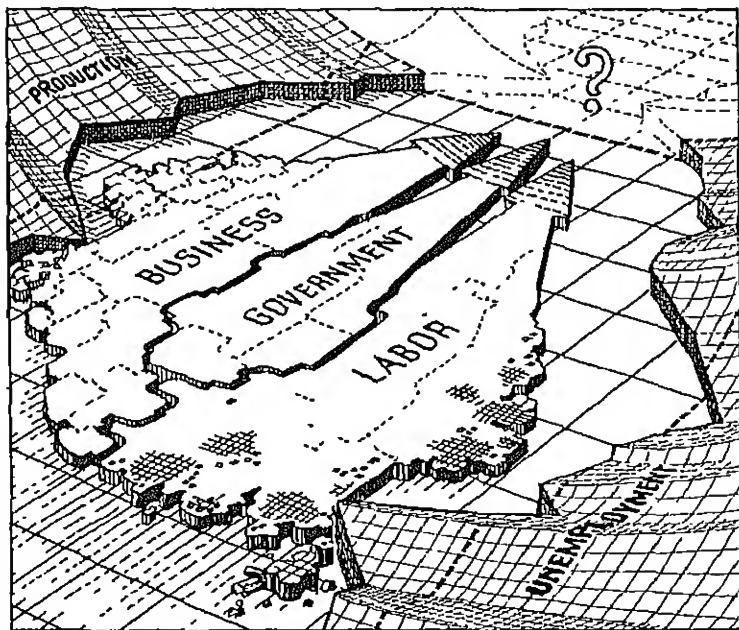
With an economy of high levels of employment, a stronger labor movement and labor participation in political activity to an unheard of extent, there have been sig-

nificant changes on the human relations front. The economic, political and moral necessities of war production required introduction of non-white workers into new occupations and industries. Because of the economic climate in which these changes in the color occupational pattern occurred, their intensity was great. At the same time, the relationship of minorities to labor unions was greatly altered during the war. As contrasted to the almost universal fear of non-white labor as a threat to organized workers in World War I, during World War II most of the leadership and much of the rank and file of industrial unions, many of which were born during the New Deal years, either took the lead in facilitating wider utilization of minorities or cooperated in governmental programs to accomplish the result. Even those unions, the older craft ones for the most part, that opposed employment or upgrading of non-whites vigorously had little real basis for fear of colored workers as potential strike-breakers. Their opposition was at that time the result of deep concern for the future when they believed there would not be enough work to go around, and, thus, expression of craft unions' traditional attempt to control and limit the supply of labor as a means of offsetting chronic unemployment for their membership. In other instances, it reflected a residuum of race prejudice inherited from an era of strike-breaking or unemployment, or both.

As Negroes continued to cluster in industrial centers in response to the labor demands of war production, they entered organized labor, so that today about a million colored Americans are dues' paying members. The Negro community no longer remained anti-union, but it and its working members accepted labor organization about the same as their prototypes in the majority group. In this setting it was natural that minorities responded to labor's bid for political power. But most important, labor's new role

in American Life has meant increasing strength and growing prestige for a new element in the power relations in the nation. This new source of real power has, in its progressive branches, rejected the dictates of color-caste, establishing patterns and supporting programs to discredit and destroy the color line.

Wherever there is a strong, liberal labor movement, opportunities for pitting race against race as a means of depressing wages, discouraging mass organization of workers, or rendering the labor force more pliable are reduced. Attempts to do so not only encounter the threat of increasing economic and legislative barriers but, in present day America, they become significant events in the shifting power relationships between labor and capital, accelerating the wide-spread identification of white and black workers with organized labor as a political force.



If current trends continue, two private groups—labor and business—will share power with government in our economy. With the passage of time, the influence of labor will grow, but, as long as a large segment of production and distribution is in the ownership and under the control of private enterprise, business leadership will continue to affect values, behavior and institutions. Review of the economic interests of this control group reveals that if it is possible to secure economic stability in a predominantly free enterprise system during this phase of American history, dedication to and real acceptance of that goal by business leadership will reduce materially the economic motivation for support of the color line. Action to effect and assure high levels of employment will so alter power relationships as to weaken the prestige in discrimination, while, at the same time, new political alignments will result in institutional changes that will reduce the incidence of discrimination against minorities.

A nation in which labor, business and government are working to secure high levels of employment is in a much better position to make real its promise of equal opportunity than one that is beset with the fear or reality of severe economic depressions. Where there is expectation and realization of economic stability, the matter of minority groups' status can be taken out of the context of power rivalries on the economic front and promotion of better human relations need not necessarily evoke the open or concealed opposition of strong economic interests. Unless our economy is successful in meeting the problem of sustaining high levels of employment, it will not offer an environment favorable to those social changes which are required to make real the American Creed.

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HUMAN RELATIONS: MID CENTURY

Edwin R. Embree

I.

At the mid-point of the Twentieth Century efforts in human relations have shifted from defense of special groups to a concern for a common democracy

For generations the struggle in America was to provide facilities and advance the rights of specially disadvantaged groups: Negroes, recent immigrants, religious minorities, laborers, women. Today the emphasis is on the common advance of all the people. While we continue to battle for the rights of given groups wherever gross discriminations remain, we no longer feel it necessary—or even desirable—to work for special facilities for special groups, for example, housing for Negroes, special schools for recent immigrants, Jewish hospitals, special plots of garden homes for laborers, colleges for women. This may be too sweeping a statement. Certain of these special services may be needed for a time as the only means of assuring adequate opportunities for given segments of the population. And there may be continuing values in such special services as for example women's colleges, in order to nourish cultural needs of certain groups. But the major effort during the second half of the 20th Century is to see to it that all services—in education and health, in housing and recreation, in industry and labor, in every phase of life—are open to all on the basis of their individual qualifications. The advance during the next half century will be to enlarge and enrich these fully democratic public services so that we may develop a healthy, intelligent, cooperative, and prosperous commonweal.

Four notable features mark the new trend.

1 Society as a whole is taking responsibility for human

relations as a part of social welfare. In earlier days the aggressive agencies were pressure groups in behalf of various segments of the population: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Negro Urban League, the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League, Catholic protective societies, the friends of immigrants and friends of labor, the women's rights societies. Today the aggressive societies are the 300 state and local and national agencies devoted not to some special group but to the common rights and common opportunities of all.

This trend is shown not only in the general scope of the many private agencies, but even more strikingly by the moving in of government—state, local and national—to official concern for social health. This is a radically new feature of American public life. Starting with the Fair Employment Practices Committee of the Federal Government during the war years, official commissions have been established by a dozen states and by scores of cities. While few of these official commissions have yet anything like adequate powers or adequate budgets, they are the most striking public action toward the implementing of American democracy since the emancipation proclamation and the 13th and 14th amendments implemented the original bill of rights of the Constitution of the United States.

2. Concern for human relations has shifted from local quarrels to national policy and finally to world responsibility. For generations the South insisted that the race question was its private affair. For decades the Irish Catholics and German Jews of Boston acted as though their squabbles were a parochial quarrel. Until the second world war California claimed that the problems of Japanese Americans were its exclusive concern, and the states of the Southwest tried to fence in for their separate handling all questions concerning Mexican Americans.

Today all kinds of people are living all over the country. Over four million Negroes are in the North and West. There are almost as many Nisei living in Chicago as in Los Angeles, far more Japanese Americans in other parts of the country than in California. Jews and Catholics are not wholly concentrated in a few industrial centers, but are an integral part of the American population in every state and in every avenue of life. Human rights and human relations, we now see, can no longer be left to the play of special prejudices against special groups in special localities. At mid-century we begin to recognize that democracy, if it is to exist for any man anywhere, must exist for all men everywhere.

And finally after two world wars we are slowly coming to see that human relations is the crucial issue in world peace or world destruction. We begin to realize that not only the many groups here at home must get along together, but that the many diverse peoples of the earth must outgrow their jealousies and strife and find ways to live together and work together for a common prosperity.

3. The issues in human relations are moving from emotional good will or prejudice to intellectual research and intelligent action. Psychiatry is turning inquiry not only to the physical ills of Negroes but also to the mental ills of whites. Social studies are showing how all people may be happier by living and working in harmony than by keeping up the old jealousies and strifes. The hard facts of economics are pointing out that prosperity in our present interdependent society depends on using to the fullest the labor and talents of all. Labor unions, finding that a united front of all workers is necessary for success, are doing away with the old barriers of creed and color not so much out of good will as out of good policy. Business and industry similarly are finding that skills are valuable wherever they may be found and that

the wider the purchasing power the greater the prosperity. Enlightened selfishness, slowly but steadily, is taking the place of the crasser forms of selfishness involved in discrimination; enlightened research is taking the place of blind prejudice.

4 With the recognition that human relations is the issue between world peace and world destruction we are beginning to realize that cooperation must be the pattern rather than standardization. For thousands of years men tried to make other people over into their own image. Wars of conquest subjugated neighboring tribes and neighboring nations and tried to impose on wider and wider empires the pattern of the conquering group. In America the early idea was the melting pot: the molding of all our people into a common type even a common physical image. Slowly we are beginning to realize that diversity need not divide but may enrich and strengthen a common society. Peoples may contribute from their various talents and various cultures to produce a common store of spiritual and material riches. Democracy, we are beginning to see, does not mean leveling everybody down to the lowest average or molding everyone into a standard image, but giving opportunity for the highest talent in each individual and each group of individuals to come to its fullest stature. We are recognizing, for example, that various religions, far from being in necessary conflict, are manifold ways of giving expression to our spiritual aspirations. We are even recognizing that women and men may have equal rights without losing their distinctive natures.

It is true that nationalism still rages, that religions still quarrel, that each segment of mankind still clings to the hope that it can be the master race, that apostles of different economic systems are bitterly striving to impose their ideologies and their will on the whole world. Nevertheless thoughtful men in America and India, in England and

Africa, and thoughtful men I am sure in Russia, begin to realize that it is not standardization that is needed for the peace and prosperity of the world, but cooperation among diverse peoples and diverse cultures.

II.

There is some necessary conflict between the equal rights and opportunities of individuals on the one hand and the acceptance of differing social orders on the other, for different cultures stress different balances between individual liberty and group security.

In America, for example, liberals have centered their efforts on personal freedom. This is in the tradition of the Magna Carta and the persistent Anglo Saxon struggle for the rights of man. It is also rooted in the ancient Greek culture which has so greatly influenced western civilization and in the ideals of Judaism and Christianity. It is further strengthened by our capitalistic economy with its emphasis on private initiative and free enterprise.

But many other cultures have put their stress on the well being of the total state. The Inca Empire in early America achieved probably the highest standard of living of any of the American Indian peoples through state planning, a severe and rigorous division of labor, and a stern regimentation of the people. In modern times state control has been strongly marked in Germany and Japan and most strikingly today in Soviet Russia.

In every society there must be some balance between freedom and security. Even in liberty loving America we recognize the claims of the group over the individual in a thousand relationships. In a trade union, for example, each worker surrenders a great deal of his personal freedom in order that by regimented action the group may advance with ultimate benefit to each individual in the union. Even in so simple a unit as the family, the freedom of each member is constantly curbed if the family is to prosper or even

to survive. Yet security is a mockery unless there is a modicum of freedom. Probably the greatest security exists in a state of slavery. The slave has no personal responsibilities. His subsistence as well as his labor is the concern of his master. Yet few men can be found who will voluntarily pay the price of slavery for the boon of security.

In earlier times it was possible for each region to work out its own relationship between the individual and the group without much regard for the opinions or customs of other people. In the present closely interdependent world this is not so easy. As Abraham Lincoln saw for one nation, so we are beginning to see for humanity as a whole that One World cannot exist half free and half slave. Yet we also recognize that groups have rights as well as individuals. Free enterprise in trying out new forms of social relations and economic systems may be as fruitful among nations as private initiative is among individuals.

We need not expect a flat uniformity throughout the world. We do have a right to demand that a measure of freedom be guaranteed to all men everywhere. This is the aim of such instruments as the universal bill of rights drawn up by the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations. At the same time, if we are to maintain world peace by democratic methods, we must recognize the rights of various regions to work out their own ideas of social organization. It is in this spirit of cooperation that the United Nations has been established.

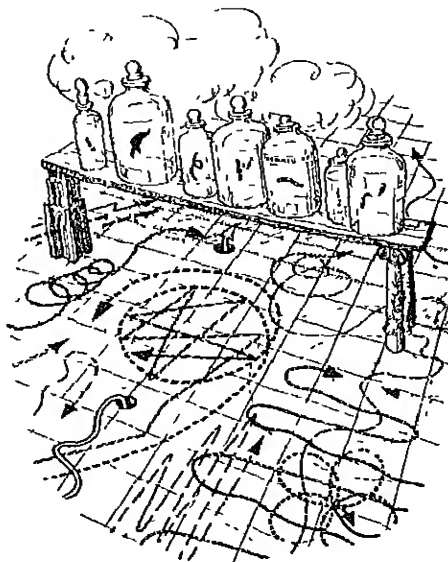
Human relations present a complex set of patterns. No one ever claimed that the problems of democracy were simple or easy. At this mid-point of the Twentieth Century these problems are receiving fresh and intelligent attention as they press upon us with compelling force. The momentous issue of the second half of this century in America and throughout the world is the struggle for good human relations, the constant search to find ways to guarantee

basic rights and rich opportunities to every individual and at the same time to guarantee as much security as possible to all individuals through proper organization for the commonweal.

This means that education—in its broadest sense and including both research and teaching—is a greater force today than ever before in man's history. These huge and delicate human problems can never be solved by war and violence. They will be solved only by the wisdom that grows with an education which is both broad and deep. They will be solved by developing, ever more fully and richly, the constructive powers of individuals and nations so that they may live and let live within the broad frame of cooperation.

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"a relational
approach rather
than piecemeal
knowledge"



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- Weaver, Robert C, *The Negro Ghetto*, New York Harcourt, Brace and Co, 1948
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- Wheeler, Raymond H and Perkins, F Theodore, *Principles of Mental Development*, New York, Thomas Y Crowell, 1932
 Discusses experimental developments in biology, neurology, and psychology, showing what bearing advances in these subjects have upon the education of children. Stresses the viewpoint of Gestalt psychology
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 A "study of some aspects of western culture during the past three centuries, in so far as they have been influenced by the development of science"

BOOK REVIEWS

The Future of the American Jew, by Mordecai Kaplan.
New York. McMillan, 1948, 572 pages.

In this book Professor Kaplan gives us a keen critical analysis of the current American Jewish scene together with his program for the future. He maintains that we must synthesize Judaism and Americanism and reconstruct Jewish community life by divesting Jewish tradition of those elements which are inconsistent with our sense of justice. Our traditional narrative he claims has two facets to it, legend and history, with legend predominant in the earlier narratives of the Bible and history in the later narratives. Professor Kaplan insists that the Jewish people must maintain their identity. At the same time if they expect really to live they must share in the enlightening spirit of our time and justify its existence as a separate group by the contribution to truth and leadership which it may make to the common whole of society. How to achieve it and what it should contribute is the substance of the book. Aware of the fact that anti-Jewish feeling affected greatly Jewish life and thinking, the author discusses the role of a Jewish homeland in the nations of the world. He points out that the Jews in Diaspora will have to continue to give moral, political, material and physical support to Eretz Israel and it will in turn benefit by the survival of a national and cultural life. To him the great achievement of the pioneers in the Holy Land, their marvelous success in making the Hebrew tongue a living and dynamic language and the potentialities of the new state for the future of a world Jewish religious culture, makes Israel important for Jewish survival but it must be clearly understood that "Jews in the dispersion owe exclusive political allegiance to the countries in which they reside."

This reviewer believes that Professor Kaplan errs in the statement that Judaism is "an eternal and unchangeable system of doctrine and law." The whole gamut of Jewish law and letters, its growth and development through the Bible, Mishna, Talmud, Responsa and secular literature shows to the contrary that Judaism is dynamic and flexible. He is clearly in error in his conjectures on the "status of the Jewish woman in Jewish law." The Bible and Jewish literature are replete with statements granting the woman equal rights with man. Exegetical literature negates his interpretations regarding women.

Proponents of interfaith relations will be interested in the author's following two proposals for religious pluralism. He advocates that

the traditional attitudes of Christians and Jews towards other religions, be drastically revised in the interest of democracy, peace and good-will. He states that the traditional Jewish belief in Israel as a Chosen People is objectionable from the point of view that all religions are equally near to "all who call upon Him in truth." Therefore, says Dr Kaplan, we must eliminate from our liturgy all reference to Israel as an elected people. He also maintains that the Christian doctrine that the Jews are a damned and rejected people must also be discarded and eliminated. The Church has nothing to lose and a great deal to gain by making this revision, for it would be relieved of its terrible burden of guilt for the hatred against Jews. "It is unfortunately true that in the Christian religious tradition the Jews are assumed to be the accursed of God. There is no use evading the fact, or prevaricating about it. There is only one way to deal with it, it must cease to be fact. That judgment on the Jews must be expunged from the Christian tradition."

The book is challenging and thought-provoking. Professor Kaplan's views may not always seem readily acceptable, but they impress the reader with their fortitude, integrity and clear-thinking.

Abraham I. Katsh

Introduction to the History of Sociology, Harry Elmer Barnes, Editor, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1948.

The editor of a history of sociology faces the same problem that any anthologist faces namely, the difficult problem of selection. To be all things to all students and scholars and yet maintain a discriminating discretion in selection is a task which would have stumped a lesser encyclopedist than Harry Elmer Barnes.

After two introductory chapters, "Ancient and Medieval Social Philosophy" and "Social Thought In Early Modern Times" which serve as a background against which to interpret man's attempt to construct a definite science of sociology, there follows a discussion and appraisal of the works such eminent pioneers of a systematic sociology as Comte, Spencer, Morgan, Sumner, Ward and Gumpłowicz.

There follows then a fascinating and interesting panorama of the great names and works of sociology arranged in groups by country and language. "Leading Sociologists in Germanic Countries", includes such names as Wundt, Tönnies, Simmel, Max Weber and Werner Sombart, "European Sociology in non-Germanic countries"

with chapters on the works of two Russian sociologists, Novicow and Kovalesky; "Main Tendencies In French Sociology" include such men as Tarde, LeBon, and Durkheim. In a single chapter and with somewhat less success the Italians, Pareto, Loria, Vaccaro, Gini and Sighele are discussed. The lone Spanish sociologist is Adolfo Posada. "English sociologists since Herbert Spencer" include Kidd, Hobhouse, Westernmarck, Briffault, Wallas, and because of the tremendous interest created by "A Study of History," Toynbee's contribution to social thought is reviewed. "Sociological theory in America" concludes the book with an impressive list of American sociologists, Giddings, Small, Thomas, Stuckenberg, Ross, Cooley, Ellwood, Hayes, and Sorokin. The single sociologist from South America included is Cornejo.

The detailed listing of the main sections of the book and the sociologists whose works are analyzed is designed to show the vast scope of this fine work. For the student of sociology however, there will be many names that come to mind which seemingly point to an incomplete treatment of the subject. For instance the German, Albert Schaeffle 1831 to 1903, the Russian Paul Von Lilienfeld 1829-1903, the Frenchman Frederic LePlay, and the American George Mead may appear as important omissions to some but as Dr. Barnes indicates his task was to write of those who had produced systems of sociology not of those sociologists who had restricted their writings to some specialized field. To this reviewer he has succeeded in writing a monumental history of systematic sociology.

Of the sociologists reviewed original works and critical commentaries are quoted fully enough to give the reader a definitive summary of the system of sociology developed by each of them. Each main division of the book is prefaced by an introductory note in which Dr. Barnes gives a brief survey of the various schools of writing in that country.

Dr. Barnes and the twenty-five other contributors to this volume deserve much praise and credit for the masterly way in which they have reviewed man's attempt through 3000 years to understand the origin of human society, the ways of group life, the development and expression of social interest, the modes of social discipline and social control, and the main causes of both cultural lag and social progress.

Edward J. Kunzer

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol. 23

March 1950

No. 7

EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

An Editorial

This number of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is devoted to Economic Education. The editorial board was fortunate in securing Prof. Derwood Baker and the Joint Council on Economic Education as its sponsor. It is hoped that it will stimulate interest in the social changes in this phase of our common life.

The evolving pattern of economic life is perhaps beyond the powers of man to prevision. If there is one thing of which we are certain it is that the hand of change "having writ, moves on." The shape of new patterns of economic life must be hammered out on the anvil of public discussion, if they are to be forged democratically.

This writer has complete confidence that the best interests of the most will be served if the control of the direction of change remains in the hands of the people. This responsibility, however, makes it necessary for all to be as intelligent as possible about what the alternatives are as we have to make decisions about economic problems. If this number of the JOURNAL focusses attention on the study of this problem it will have served its purpose.

DAN W. DODSON

ECONOMIC EDUCATION IS A MUST

Ernest O. Melby

The period in which we are living is dominated by a bitter and intense conflict between two opposite conceptions of life and social organization; a statist totalitarianism versus a democratic society with civil liberties and more or less free economic competition. The conflict between these two conceptions of life is world-wide, and its ultimate outcome is the greatest unanswered question of our age. Here in America we think the conflict so important that we have made it the central issue of our foreign policy and are spending approximately half of our federal revenues on the various facets of a cold war against totalitarianism. In this cold war our opponents are banking strongly on the ultimate collapse of our economic system. Whatever arguments we may muster in defense of a free society will, according to our opponents, be largely negated if a free economy proves unworkable or incapable of supplying the common needs of men, ending in depression, unemployment, and widespread human suffering.

While recent years and months appear to have somewhat upset the timetable predicted by our opponents for the collapse of our economic system, few seasoned observers would go so far as to say that the economic problems of our free society have been solved and that we need have no fear of depression, unemployment, or other economic breakdowns. On the contrary, the most realistic observers of the American social fabric recognize that the Achilles' heel of American freedom is somewhere in our economic system. Our best leadership recognizes also that in the last analysis democracy will win or lose on the basis of its capacity for meeting human needs and for releasing the creative talents of men everywhere. In simple language,

democracy will live if it works and it will die if it does not work. Moreover, regardless of what democracy may do in the cultural and human relations areas, if it fails on the economic front it will most certainly go down to defeat. If, then, we are interested in the survival of our way of life, there is no kind of education more important than that which seeks to make the average American intelligent about our economic system and effective as a citizen in relationship to it.

World War II lifted the United States of America into a position of overwhelming economic responsibility and influence on a world-wide basis. It is almost impossible for the average American, living and working within the boundaries of the United States, to realize the full nature and scope of his own nation's power and responsibility. It is becoming increasingly true that solutions for the world's economic problems must, in large measure, be found within the United States of America. There is scarcely a hamlet anywhere in the world whose economic life is not affected by decisions made in Washington. In recognizing this overwhelming responsibility, there should be on our part no semblance of arrogance, but, on the contrary, a deep feeling of humility and a sense of great responsibility. World leadership for America is as of the present moment, a staggering burden. The sheer economic weight of our responsibility strains our economic arrangements seriously. An equally great strain is placed upon our imagination and maturity in international understanding and statesmanship. Since the American economy must not only support its own people, but must in fact undergird the economic structure of the entire world, its successful operation takes on crucial world-wide importance. Certainly if the American economy can measure up to our domestic demands and support world-wide prosperity as well, this very fact will constitute additional proof of its power and potentiality.

One of the striking developments of the last fifty years

has been the increasing importance of the thinking of the average citizen in relation to our economy. In America, with the passing of the years, we have tended to take our economic opinions from the current ones within our own group. One of the striking results of this tendency is the rapid growth of lobbies and vested interests at the local, state, and national levels. Thus laboring men not only have economic opinions, but they make these opinions felt through powerful organizations. Similarly the farm bloc strikes fear into the hearts of congressmen, and the attitudes of businessmen as voiced through such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers must be reckoned with on any question of national economic policy. If the average citizen of the United States makes up his mind on the various economic issues largely in terms of his own self-interest and neglects the facts of our economy with regard to our resources, our productive capacity, our problems of distribution and taxation, unsound economic policies are almost certain to result. Unsound economic policies are the policies we cannot afford when our way of life is literally fighting for its survival. It would seem obvious that under these circumstances thorough-going economic education must be provided at every educational level, in elementary and secondary schools as well as in colleges and in our various programs of adult education. Unfortunately, economic education in America is meager, sporadic, and often sterile in character. One can graduate from a high school without even an elementary understanding of the economic problems confronting America. One can graduate from college without taking a single course in economics. Even if courses in economics are taken, they are often courses intended for those who are to specialize in economics and in and of themselves give the students little background for understanding current economic issues. It has been frequently observed that we are a nation of economic illiterates, that many of us believe we can get

something for nothing, and that there is a widespread lack of knowledge of the basic facts concerning our economy, its problems, strengths and weaknesses

With the present conflicts between various groups in our society, the conduct of economic education of a vital sort is by no means simple. There are those who want the schools to beat the drum for capitalism, for free enterprise, and the power of the profit motive. Such individuals want the schools to become propaganda agencies for the status quo. Unfortunately, they do not realize that when a system is fighting for survival, it is of utmost importance that its faults and weaknesses be recognized early and corrected if possible. Critics of our economic system must be heard. Their criticisms may be wrong, but they must not go unheeded for too much is at stake. As a people we must think through the problems of making our economic system work smoothly and effectively. There are a great many of these problems—far too many to mention in this brief article, but four of them will be presented briefly.

Economic Freedom and Civil Liberties

How far are civil liberties dependent upon private enterprise and a free economy? In all sincerity, we do not know the answer to this question. England seems to be experimenting with nationalization of some of the means of production, and simultaneously retaining her civil liberties. On the other hand, the development of large economic units, especially monopolies, may have a great restricting influence on the creative and adventurous thinking of those who work in such enterprises. It is possible that monopoly is as great a threat to intellectual freedom as is national ownership of a particular means of production. Here we must be concerned not only with legal freedom but with the attitudes of people. When a single economic organization such as a corporation has too much power in a state

or a locality, many people will hesitate to express themselves on current political or economic issues for fear of retaliatory action on the part of the corporation or its representatives. Similarly it is possible that state-owned enterprise will, in one way or another, influence the thinking of many citizens associated with that particular enterprise. Clearly this is an area in which both practical and philosophical considerations need careful examination. Especially at the high school and college level, these concepts need thorough examination to the end that our citizens may be intelligent about the various issues concerned. Such education is not a process of indoctrination but a careful inquiry with regard to facts and issues, conducted in the very spirit of the free society for which such education seeks to prepare young people.

Not enough attention has been given in American education to the effect of sheer size on an industry or a community, or, for that matter, on an educational institution. The curse of bigness is no idle phrase or mere illusion. Big business, big labor, big government and big education all make *their impact on the freedom of the individual to think, live and function as a member of society*. We should have a better understanding of the effects of bigness in all these areas. Decentralization may ultimately be our only answer in industry, in government and in education, but we shall not decentralize wisely or in timely fashion unless education gives more attention to the relationship between the size of an economic, political, or educational unit and the degree of human freedom prevailing within it.

There is grave danger of unrealistic attitudes in relation to a free society and a free economy. The proportion of people in the world who would be willing to go hungry to be intellectually free is probably far smaller than most of us believe. Individually many of us may be convinced that freedom is more important than economic security, but we shall not be effective in talking to hungry

men about the glories of freedom. To the vast majority of the people who now inhabit the earth, the question of where they can get the next meal is of far greater importance than philosophical questions of intellectual freedom. Unless we in the western democracies recognize this fact, we are likely to utilize unrealistic and unsound strategy in furthering the cause of freedom. A thorough-going education in the facts of the economic world is here indicated. Such education should begin in the elementary school and continue throughout not only high school and college but the entire span of adult life.

Release of Productive Capacity

The present productivity of the American economy has not only given us a standard of living beyond that in any other country, but the imbalance between the productivity and that of other nations is creating world-wide problems which we have undertaken to solve through such devices as the Marshall Plan and loans to foreign countries. More recently President Truman's Point Four program looms as a still further effort in equalizing economic opportunity in various parts of the world. Yet striking as our production records are when compared to those in most other parts of the world, they are not nearly as high as they should be or could be. Here we are confronted with a large number of serious but removable obstacles. For one thing, there seems to be a very direct relationship between education and economic wellbeing. In our own country subordination of the Negro and lack of educational opportunities for millions of children and young people still limit our productive capacity. We have surpluses at the present moment of butter and other foods and, at the same time we have inadequate consumption of these same articles by millions of our own people. Widespread educational and economic opportunities for our own people would provide

us with the markets we need for our surplus production and greatly increase our general prosperity. Yet millions of our people do not understand the importance of education in relation to a prosperous economy. Business leaders at times are active in holding down tax rates for educational purposes and thereby limiting the educational opportunities for our young people, thus ultimately putting a ceiling on their own business opportunities.

In view of the world-wide conflict between democracy and totalitarianism, it is paramount to remember that in the last analysis a free economy will survive only if it proves to be effective in releasing the productive and creative capacities of our people. Moreover, with our present world-wide responsibilities, we need the creative capacities of every single individual in our own country. We need also to stimulate the productive capacities of people everywhere in the world. We must discover the patterns of economic organization which will provide the best incentives for a high production. To this end the effect of taxation, of wage levels, of retirement schemes, and various other forms of social security must be examined. It is at least possible that the so-called welfare state may prove to be a good investment from the standpoint of improving the productive capacity of our people. It may actually make for higher profits and higher wages due to a better state of mind, better health, and the higher morale on the part of the individual worker. There are of course a great many unsolved problems in this area, but prejudice, gross selfish attitudes, and ignorance of the economic issues involved can only lead us into a blind reaction which will injure all and benefit none.

Problems of Distribution

While even in the area of production we have a long way to go, the problem of distribution looms even more baffling

on the economic front. The economics of distribution is not understood by any considerable section of our population. To most of us it seems a very baffling business made up of complex costs, a multiplicity of middlemen, as well as many hidden problems that we do not understand. Most of us feel that distribution costs are far too high and that the consumer is the victim of a near conspiracy in this area. This is not the place to pass judgment upon these views, but merely to indicate that as consumers we shall probably never be able to deal effectively with the problem of distribution until we have greater understanding of the economic issues involved. Those who have studied the co-operatives in Sweden are quite unanimous in the belief that these interesting experiments have had a very definite outcome in the way of better economic understanding on the part of the members, quite aside from their effect on prices and other aspects of the economy. Here again we need dispassionate and unbiased examination of facts and discussion of values in the free market of opinion, which should characterize both our education and our society.

International Trade

In no area is the need for up-to-date economic understanding more evident than in relation to international trade. Within a relatively few decades we have changed our international position from that of a debtor to a creditor nation. Both our tariffs and our regulations concerning international trade have their origin and development in that period in our history when we bought more than we sold in the international market. The case of Great Britain is illustrative. The United States has been selling the United Kingdom three times as much as it buys from that country. Simultaneously, it is of the greatest importance to the United States that Great Britain be kept strong in an economic way. Yet the dollar shortage is Britain's

greatest single problem. Also it is clear that unless British exports to the United States can be increased there is no permanent solution for the dollar problem. Rapidly the United States is being driven by its own power into the position of being about the only nation that can buy in the international market. Clearly other nations cannot continue to buy from us unless they can also sell to us. While momentarily we may be enjoying a great prosperity, we must not delude ourselves into the belief that we can continue to sell in the international market unless we also buy in that market in somewhere near equal proportion. Yet proposed alterations in our tariffs and other foreign trade regulations meet with sharp opposition in many quarters. Witness the demand for higher protective tariffs immediately following the British devaluation of the pound. It is clear, that at present we in America do not understand the importance of international trade to our national well-being or to world stability, nor do we realize the degree to which our own prosperity is dependent upon the prosperity and well-being of other peoples. Because some other countries are not prosperous, it is necessary for the American taxpayer to deal with the problem through such devices as the Marshall Plan. It might be wiser and sounder in the long run to admit more foreign goods to the United States. The result might be lower prices to the consumer, lower taxes, and less interference on the part of government with the incentives to business activity. In any case, here is a vast area for study, an area rich in educational experiences and full of problems that have implications, not only on the economic front, but in the field of diplomacy, international relations, and educational philosophy. If the problems in foreign trade are to be understood by our people, it is clear that a far larger proportion of the educational program has to be devoted to the various social understandings on which intelligent citizenship in this area must be based.

In this discussion of economic education, we have said little about the moral and spiritual aspects of the present domestic and international scene. If we in America are true to our democratic values we must not be guilty of viewing economic problems in isolation. If we neglect the human considerations in the solution of these problems we shall immediately be adjudged to be guilty of dollar diplomacy and a kind of rugged individualism in the domestic scene which subordinates human welfare to profits. Both of these courses of action will destroy us in the long run, and nothing is more important to us in the world-wide struggle for freedom than to be sure that we practice what we preach, both at home and abroad. One of the reasons we do not practice what we preach any more effectively than we do is that we really do not understand our own preaching. We talk about human brotherhood without realizing that there are millions of Americans for whom this brotherhood means very little—perhaps because of the color of their skin. We are justly proud of our many humanitarian achievements, but in this pride we often forget that millions of our citizens are ill-clothed, poorly housed, and poorly fed, as well as poorly educated. All these deficiencies in our own society present us with economic problems that we must understand better if we are to do something about them. Our willingness to solve them, as well as our ability to solve them, will depend upon our concern for moral and spiritual values.

In our discussion of totalitarianism we frequently point to the disregard of totalitarian societies for religion and for the dignity of the individual. Without doubt this accusation is justified, but we cannot continue to make it unless we can demonstrate by our own life and action that we in a free society have a real concern for all individual human beings regardless of color or creed or economic status. In other words, economic education in America must be soundly based upon a true social democracy. We take pride in being

a Christian nation Our whole Judaic-Christian tradition has stressed human values, justice and human brotherhood. No consideration of the problems of industry, of capital, of production, distribution, and international trade can serve us in a democratic program of education unless such education gives a central place to the moral and spiritual values that are basic to our conception of life.

In the present cold war for human freedom our opponents believe that we shall ultimately lose because our economic system will fail us The only way we can prove them wrong, and the only way we can make human freedom a reality, is to give our citizens the economic attitude and understanding that will equip them to develop sound economic policies and which will make our economic system a foundation for freedom rather than a source of weakness in crises. Such education will be effective as it examines the issues clearly in the free market of opinion which should prevail in every school and college. It will have meaning and power as it is conducted in the true spirit of democracy and as it is dominated by a concern for moral and spiritual values.

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THE JOINT COUNCIL ON ECONOMIC EDUCATION

G. Derwood Baker

There seems to be general agreement that economic problems are among the most pressing and persistent issues which confront our society. The ideological split between the western and eastern powers which threatens the peace of the world is based on conflicting theories of economic organization and of the relationship of individuals to their governments. The leadership of our own nation in this political and ideological struggle is largely dependent upon our economic strength and our ability to revive the war weakened economies of western Europe and to help backward peoples strengthen their economies and raise the standard of living of their peoples.

To provide the resources for world leadership, it is essential that our own productive capacity and standard of living be maintained at ever higher levels, but the events of the past two decades have brought vast changes in the power relationships in our own economic and political life. Institutional relationships have changed, organized labor and government have achieved new power and status and business men and business organizations have lost the dominant position they once held. The total costs of government have reached proportions which are virtually unmanageable. The government, under the Employment Act of 1946, has adopted the policy and assumed the responsibility of maintaining high levels of production and employment. We are committed to the protection of farm prices and seem to be moving in the direction of guaranteeing the income of the farmer. We are striving to revive world trade but are afraid of foreign competition in our own markets. We are proud of our mass production industries but we fear

monopolies and want to preserve the opportunity for small business to organize and prosper. We believe in the right of laboring men to organize and bargain collectively, but we are concerned lest the power of organized labor shall be used unwisely. We are confused by deficit financing and monetary controls. We long for security and stability, but we fear governmental planning and state controls.

The last two decades have profoundly changed our economic life and our social institutions. The change has been revolutionary, but as James Marshall points out, "Some folks don't know a revolution when they see it." Further change in our political, social and economic institutions is inevitable but the critical question before the American people is—in what directions shall these changes take us? How can we manage our economy without sacrificing our democratic institutions and values? These are questions which, in a democracy, have to be answered by the public and they can only be answered wisely by an informed public. They are, therefore, questions of the utmost importance to education and to the public schools which have the responsibility of preparing a generation capable of dealing intelligently with them.

Education for democratic citizenship and civic competence has been a major objective of public education in this country for more than a quarter century. Civic education has generally been construed to include a knowledge of the history of our country and its political institutions, of the structure and function of local, state and national government and some training in the privileges, duties and responsibilities of political citizenship. In this area, it is generally conceded that the schools have done a good though by no means a perfect job. At least we can point with some pride to rising standards of political responsibility, to the virtual elimination of corrupt political machines and to greater efficiency in government at all levels. The average citizen is better informed and more disposed to exercise in-

dependent judgment than in 1910 and this accomplishment is undoubtedly due in part to programs of civic education in the public schools.

However, in today's world, political competence is not enough. The great majority of current political issues hinge on questions of finance and economic policy; and in his role as consumer, worker, farmer, professional or business man each individual is called upon to make decisions which influence and shape the character of our political, social and economic institutions. Votes are being cast at the ballot box and cash register. Influence is being exerted through union organizations, trade associations, professional organizations and social groups. The problem of preparing youth for economic citizenship is a relatively new problem and one with which our public education program must come to grips.

Some members of the faculty of the School of Education at New York University began a study of this problem in the summer of 1947 and came to the conclusion that the public schools are poorly equipped for providing youth with the tools and skills for understanding our distinctively American economic institutions. The curriculum gives scant attention to economic institutions, problems and issues. Appropriate materials of instruction are scarce and, most critical of all, the teachers in elementary and secondary schools have had little training in economic affairs. They share the uncertainty, doubts and confusion of the public in general. It seemed to this group that they had identified an area for curriculum development and teacher training that should be brought to the attention of the leaders in American education and they set about developing a plan. It was concluded that if a representative group of curriculum experts could meet for a few weeks with some of our most competent research economists they might be able to achieve a realistic view of the problem and develop a plan for a national curriculum and teacher training movement in this

area of civic competence. Two discussion-planning sessions were held with curriculum specialists and economists from research foundations, governmental agencies, business and labor organizations participating. A plan and a program were evolved and a financial grant for the project was approved by the Committee for Economic Development.

These planning sessions resulted in the first New York University Workshop on Economic Education, held in the summer of 1948, which was attended by official representatives from 33 city school systems, seven state departments of education and the United States Office of Education. Fellowships were granted covering room and board and in most instances travel expenses were met by the local boards of education. It was a highly selected group, brought together to take a fresh, unbiased view of our economy: what it produces, how the product is distributed and the factors which contribute to its stability and instability, to full employment and unemployment, to high productivity and low productivity.

The Workshop was housed on the campus of the Riverdale School for Boys, Riverdale-on-Hudson, New York City, enabling the group to get acquainted quickly and work together in sessions that typically ran from 9:15 a.m. to 9:15 p.m.

The staff of the Workshop included G. Derwood Baker, Professor of Education, New York University; Cecil L. Dunn, Professor of Economics, Occidental College; A. D. H. Kaplan, Senior Staff Member, Brookings Institution, G. Robert Koopman, Associate Superintendent, State Department of Public Instruction, Michigan; Mark Starr, Educational Director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; and Sylvia Stone, Assistant to Research Director, Committee for Economic Development.

To assist on special problems more than twenty consultants were brought in to work with the group for a single session or for as long as three days. Consultants were se-

cured from research foundations, J. Frederic Dewhurst, Richard B. Hefflebower and E. J. Coil, from government, Edwin G. Nourse, S. Morris Livingston and Corwin Edwards; from university departments of economics, Edward Mason, Roy Blough and G. E. Brandow, from organized labor, Solomon Barkin, David Kaplan and Harry Uviller, and from business, James F. Brownlee, Beardsley Ruml and Frank M. Surface.

The core of the lecture-discussion sessions was based on national income analysis, a technique now widely used in research but an interpretative tool which has only recently made its appearance at the college level. Against this background of data other sessions attacked a number of the more critical and urgent socio-economic problems of the day. Committees, groups and individuals worked on a variety of problems and individually selected assignments. There were assemblies, group meetings, and discussions in dormitory rooms and over coffee counters that lasted far beyond scheduled hours. Ideas, solutions, and attitudes sometimes clashed and differences had to be faced. *A variety of group techniques were employed for discussion and the resolving of differences of opinion.*

The questions with which the Workshop dealt admit no simple or easy solution. What are the facts about our economic system which every citizen should know? What are suitable objectives for economic understanding at the secondary school level? What materials are available, or needed, for use in the classroom? How can community resources be utilized? What visual aids can enliven the program? What is democratic policy regarding controversial issues? How may the findings of educational and psychological research be used to implement classroom procedures?

Morning, afternoon and evening, for three weeks, staff and participants grappled with these questions. Chief among the points of agreement was this: American high schools need to do a much better job in the teaching of eco-

nomic understanding if our industrialized and interdependent society is to succeed in coping with its problems. Further, there was unanimous agreement that the New York University Workshop had merely broken ground. If its effects were to be significant for American Education as a whole, it would be necessary to establish means for a continuing study and an expanding program.

Accordingly, at one of the final sessions, staff and participants voted that the entire Workshop constitute itself as the Interim Committee on Economic Education. Individually the participants undertook the responsibility of developing resources for improving economic education in their own regions and collectively they elected an Executive Board to whom they assigned the responsibility of carrying forward the general program and developing a permanent organization. During the fall, the Executive Board consulted with representatives of other educational organizations and with business and labor leaders on its organizational problems and at a meeting in January, 1949, formally established and incorporated the Joint Council on Economic Education.

Developments since the formation of the Joint Council seem to justify the hope and confidence of its founding members. The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development and the National Association of Secondary School Principals of the N.E.A. have affiliated with the Joint Council. Regional councils on economic education have been formed by its members in Iowa, the Upper Midwest, Michigan and at Hartford, Connecticut with business and labor leaders joining with school and university representatives in promoting local programs for economic study and teacher training. Seminar and lecture-discussion series have been organized in Philadelphia, Flint, Michigan, Baltimore and New York City. In Baltimore 400 teachers and citizens are attending a fourteen session weekly series of meetings addressed by competent economists and edu-

cators from their city, Washington, D. C. and New York. During the summer of 1949, the Joint Council cooperated with the University of Minnesota and Michigan State College in developing economic workshops for teachers in their regions and a second national workshop was sponsored by New York University.

At these workshops teachers have prepared resource materials and guides for classroom teachers which are receiving wide distribution and use. A new movement is making its influence felt in American education. Eight hundred teachers have participated in the workshops, seminars and in-service programs sponsored by the Joint Council. For the summer of 1950, the Council is co-sponsoring workshops in Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and New York. Each of these projects has been initiated by Council members—workshoppers from that region. Upon invitation the chairman of the Joint Council has been available to assist in program planning and in securing competent staff members and consultants for local or regional programs. In some instances the Joint Council has been able to assist in securing local financial support for workshop programs, funds to provide fellowships for those participating, to provide a staff of the highest caliber and to provide a followup service. Curriculum reorganization is not likely to go far if reliance is placed solely on the voluntary, spare-time efforts of inadequately paid and overburdened teachers.

The Joint Council is a non-profit, educational organization created to assist school systems and teacher training institutions improve the quality of social and economic education through curriculum research, workshops, seminars, in-service training programs, the publication of reports and the preparation of materials for teachers and pupils. It hopes to stimulate and co-ordinate the efforts of professional and lay groups which are interested in improving economic education and are committed to our democratic

tradition of academic freedom and academic responsibility. The Council will not promote the special interest of any group, engage in propaganda activities, nor attempt to influence legislative action. It has no economic program to impose or any fixed curricular pattern to propose. It seeks only to coordinate the interested members of the teaching profession and the community in protecting and developing our American heritage.

The area of economic understanding offers education the opportunity to work co-operatively with business, management, labor, government and economic research on the problems vital to the survival of democracy and our economic institutions. Teachers, supervisors, school administrators and boards of education are invited to co-operate with the Joint Council on Economic Education in developing programs of civic education that deepen our understanding of economic affairs.

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ECONOMIC EDUCATION IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Howard Cummings

Since the purpose of the Joint Council on Economic Education is to improve the teaching of economics in the secondary schools and since we base our reason for being on the fact that high school students are not receiving adequate training to meet economic issues we might look at the statistical picture to discover what the economics state of affairs really is

The term "economics" began to be used to describe a curriculum subject in 1900 and the older designation of "political economy" was dropped. From 1900 to 1920 the subject gained a foothold in the curriculum. It was usually offered for one semester and shared the 12th grade with sociology and civics. Since some states required that civics be taught, the student could elect sociology or economics to fill out a full year of social studies. Then in 1916 the term "Problems of American Democracy" appeared and threatened the existence of all three of the separate courses. Three factors probably account for their survival

1. The legal requirement that civics be taught
2. The desire of teachers for the separate subjects
3. The convenience to the school principal of the three half-unit course as an element of flexibility in an otherwise inflexible program consisting for the most part of courses running for two semesters.

However, the fact that economics was elective and that it was usually offered in the 12th grade where a number of subjects compete for the time of the more advanced students probably accounts for the relatively low enrollment in economics

That enrollment was relatively low is proved by the first report on pupil enrollment in economics at the high school

level made in 1922 in *Offerings and Registration in High-School Subjects* by the U. S. Office of Education. Economics enrolled 103,540 of the 2,155,460 reported, or 4.8 percent of the number reporting. In 1928, with 630 schools reporting, the number was 147,035 from a total of 2,896,630, or 5.08 percent. The 1928 report was the high water mark in percentage but not in numbers. In 1934 enrollment in economics rose to 221,874 but the percentage was only 4.93.¹ This was the last report on enrollment. In 1946-47 a sampling was made of 449 schools. This showed that economics and economic problems accounted for 2.7 percent of all social studies enrollment. United States history accounted for 33.8 percent, world history 19.3 percent and civics and citizenship for 14.1 percent of the total social studies enrollment. These three courses, all of which showed percentage increases since the 1933-34 report, accounted for 67.2 percent of all social studies in the schools sampled. In summary it seems that:

1. Two-thirds of the present social studies enrollment is in history, civics and citizenship.
2. Enrollment in economics has never included more than 5.08 percent of students attending high school.
3. That it declined to 4.93 in 1934 and on the basis of the evidence available continued to decline between 1934 and 1946.

It should be said at once that the estimate made above has not included all the economic content taught in high school courses. However there have been no statistical reports on what is included in courses other than economics. Some economics material is included in the following courses:

1. "Problems of American Democracy." However, Dr. Anderson's report estimates that only 4.3 percent of students in social studies courses take "American Problems." In 1934 it was 4.4.
2. History courses are gradually including more materials from the field of economics.

- 3 New courses have been added to the curriculum in consumer education and conservation, which deal with phases in economics. Courses in group guidance give information on occupational fields and considerable economic education comes from the work in individual guidance.
4. Three other areas in the curriculum contain economic materials. These are home economics, business education and vocational agriculture. The work done in some of these courses is excellent but their limitations for economic education are obvious. They reach only pupils enrolled in the particular course and they treat only those economic topics of special concern to that particular subject.

In schools where all or a part of the curriculum is developed on the basis of the needs of youth the picture is difficult to report in any statistical framework. Economic outcomes in terms of learning are not separated from other learnings which result from pupil experiences. Even with a small number of schools reporting it is hard to make a report by subjects.

While consideration of methods is important in considering the outcomes from courses in economics they are not unique to teaching economics. Good teaching methods apply to all subjects. However from observation and from the opinion of supervisors the following picture is sketched.

Teaching methods used by the various teachers in the typical large high school, when considered collectively, make an historical profile of the development of educational method over the last quarter century. High points in the profile from 1925 seem to be as follows:

- 1 Few teachers continue to lecture but a factual question and answer recitation period based on a text assignment is still common.
2. "Thought questions" used in a Socratic fashion replace or supplement factual questions. The nature of

the assignment, daily textbook reading, remains the same

3. The socialized recitation, teacher led, replaces the question-answer pattern. Assignments are in larger units based on major ideas or areas, supplementary books are used, audio-visual aids are integrated into unit assignments.
4. Many techniques are used. Pupil-teacher planning replaces assignments, community resources are used, panels and forums are organized, reports are made. The teacher guides the process as a counsellor and advisor. Full use is made of all resources. Growth of the pupil in individual competence and group relations are the major objectives of the course. Areas studied have some relations to the problems of youth in contemporary society.

Two facts become apparent to any observer who visits a school where these various teaching techniques are used:

1. The newer techniques meet with a much better pupil response than any of the older methods. Pupils are more alert, take their responsibilities more seriously and participate in the class activities as a matter of course. Tests results, even on factual material, are as good as those in groups, taught by more conventional methods. Research studies support these conclusions. Supervisors departing from a school always voice the wish, "if all teaching could only be like that done by Miss X" Stated in the language of textbook on methods, there is a great need to translate the latest research into effective classroom practice. Research proves the new methods are good. But too many classrooms show the old variety.
2. The newer techniques can be used in any school with any group of pupils. The evidence for this can be obtained in almost any large school in the country. After listening to all the reasons why newer techniques can-

not be used in a particular school from teachers who are not using them, the supervisor finds one teacher who is doing "the impossible" with excellent results.

A third area which requires consideration is that of teacher training, both pre-service and in-service.

The attention of economists today is directed increasingly toward such problems as providing full employment, increasing the national income, making maximum use of natural resources, safeguarding security while maintaining incentives, and economic relationships between individuals and groups in society. However the time lag which keeps newer findings in educational research from reaching classes in methods delays the most recent research in economics from entering courses where teachers are trained.

There are three immediate needs which should be met to improve the teaching of economics in the high schools:

1. Improvement in classroom teaching methods is a general need and is not unique to economics.
2. Better courses in economics for teachers which utilize the thinking of leading contemporary economists.
3. A revision of current courses to provide an economic frame of reference for functional courses like consumer education, vocational guidance, general business practice and conservation. At the same time classical economics courses, where they survive, should be modified to conform to the national income approach. Such an approach helps the pupil to see the whole picture of our economy. His personal problems, the problems of his group, city or region can then be identified as a part of the whole picture.

¹Based on *Biennial Survey of Education, 1933-34* United States Department of the Interior, Office of Education Bulletin 1938, No. 6, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1938.

²Howard R. Anderson, *Teaching of United States History in Public High Schools, An Inquiry into Offerings and Registrations, 1916-47* Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Bulletin 1949, No. 7 Washington, Government Printing Office, 1949 page 6.

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LABOR'S STAKE IN ECONOMIC EDUCATION

Mark Starr

Labor's stake in economic education arises directly from the fact that labor unions are primarily economic organizations. Their basic job is to win for their members a shorter work week and higher wages and also to improve the conditions under which their members obtain a livelihood. Both as a producer and a consumer, organized labor forms an important section of the community. Fifteen million organized trade unionists constitute a large bloc in the 42 million men and women who work for wages and salaries in the United States. Together with their families they are a powerful influence upon public policy. Hence, what they know or do not know about the economic facts of life may have important consequences.

In the past, Labor has been grossly neglected by the schools. Many youngsters have left grade school and high school either uninformed, or possibly misinformed, about the role of the union in promoting community welfare.* This is ironical because of the continued aid which the trade unions have given to education. Right from the Workingmen's Political Party in Philadelphia in 1827, down to the current support of federal aid for education given by the CIO, the AFL and other labor groups, the unions have perhaps done more than any other single agency to support the public school. Labor has done this because it believes in equality of opportunity and realizes that we cannot exercise our democratic rights and responsibilities unless the majority of our citizens are well informed.

To be sure, school textbooks now have more to say about the trade unions than previously. Occasionally representatives of trade unions at national and local levels are asked to participate in school ceremonies and graduation exercises

A few labor leaders have actually received honorary degrees from colleges. However, various surveys have shown that Labor is still very inadequately represented in school governing bodies. For example, the *NEA Journal*, February, 1946, reported an investigation of 3068 school boards which showed that 35 per cent of school board members were proprietors and executives and 18.8 per cent, professional workers. It also found that the median personal income of the board members was \$7516 in the large towns and \$3235 in the small towns. In the rural districts the investigation found that 42 per cent of the members were farmers, 21 per cent proprietors and executives and 8.8 per cent professional people.

In part, this lack of representation on school boards and in education generally is due to Labor's own blindness to its stake in economic education. However, the situation is changing for the better. One outstanding example of improvement is the Labor History Week run in East Side High School, Newark, N. J. In the closing weeks of the civics classes, local union leaders were invited to participate as supplementary teachers, explaining the history and activities of their own organizations and their role in community life.

Labor has suffered from misinterpretation as well as neglect. One does not need to search far to discover specific examples of fallacies in economics to be found in school teaching and textbooks which do injustice to Labor. In the first place, there still continues the artificial distinction between the liberal (literary) arts and the vocational and mechanical skills. Unconsciously the student acquires a snobbish attitude toward manual labor.

The student, of course, has already been subjected to the distortion of the normal activities of trade unions through newspaper headlines which play up a strike on Page #1 and play down its settlement on Page 21. The same newspapers exaggerate the exceptional cases of racketeering union lead-

ers with similar ill effects. Too often the students have only a negative concept of organized labor. They hear about strikes but seldom learn that days lost by strikes are only a fraction of the total days worked—the ratio in 1948 being one to 270. This makes it all the more necessary that in high school, when youngsters stand on the threshold of industry, they should be given correct information about the real functions of unions throughout their long history.

As a recent report of the Treasury Department shows, the total income of all trade unions in the United States for the year 1946 was less than 5 per cent of the revenue of all tax-exempt organizations. The union income of \$477,701,000, most of which was expended in administrative expenses and benefit payments, is well below the \$502 million of the net profits of one corporation, General Motors, for the first nine months of 1949.

The individual unions retain autonomy inside their federations and there are many local variations even in the case of nationwide bargaining. The monolithic unity of Labor is, upon examination, non-existent. (In comparison, one might vote that 250 of the largest corporations in U S A. control about two-thirds ($2/3$) of all the manufacturing facilities; four large steel companies control 63 per cent of the total steel ingot production.)

On a par with the charge of monopoly is the misrepresentation of the "union shop." Here, in essence, the member who enjoys superior union conditions is expected to pay union dues or work elsewhere. Obviously, to maintain good conditions, the union has to represent the union members and to organize non-union members where necessary. Dues are the union's support and are analogous to taxes which citizens pay to sustain government services. In the old pre-Wagner Act days, an employer sometimes gave a company union to the workers, but this is now outlawed. The unions have a stake in teaching the truth about such matters.

Teachers should let the record of Labor speak for itself.

as to what it has done for economic betterment and health in the community. That record would show the crusade against the sweatshop and the collective self-help by which workers have increased their wages and reduced the work week down to 40 and 35 hours, as compared to the old sun-up to sundown toil, six days a week. The histories of education in the United States give quotations from Horace Mann and other pioneers which acknowledge Labor's aid in the campaign for free education, already referred to.

Labor has a stake in economic education to remove misconceptions in the public mind and in the school about its alleged opposition to the introduction of new methods and machines and to remove false ideas about the extent of "featherbedding." Reluctance to see existing jobs abolished or merged is, of course, linked to the fear of unemployment and the general insecurity which provoke the workers, in some instances, to resort to anti-social behavior and restrictions of production. These instances are exaggerated while the many beneficent deeds of the unions are ignored. Luckily, the unions themselves are becoming much more hospitable to investigations and inquiries on this point. For example, in the weekly *Labor*, Oct. 22, 1949, there is an examination of the charge that restrictions are practiced in the building trades and a refutation of the oft repeated accusations.

The role of Labor in worker-management cooperation and its achievements in preventing strikes before they start are also part of a record easily available to the intelligent teacher in economic education. The current controversy about pensions—contributory or non-contributory—could be utilized by the alert teacher to discuss the current modern trend of unions which attempt to secure protection for their members, not only in the workshop but outside, and in periods of sickness and old age, as well as of unemployment.

Economic fallacies loaded against Labor abound in many areas of economic teaching. There is the widespread "vi-

cious circle" which asserts that any increase in the worker's wage is automatically transferred to the price of the product. The curious student might be encouraged to ask why then did the employer resist a demand for an increase and why should he wait for a threatened strike in order to increase the price of his product? This would lead to an examination of the proportion of labor costs to total costs of production, of the effect upon prices of competition, inside each industry and between industries; of the limits even to monopoly prices, and of the reduction of potential profits by wage increases. The student could easily check the record to see whether there was causal connection over the years between increases in wages and increases in prices, and whether prices of some commodities had gone down while wages in the same industry had gone up. This would lead to an estimate of increased productivity in relation to wages, profits and prices. The role of the union in increasing that productivity when it is assured of participation in some of its results would afford a good lesson to the boys and girls who soon themselves will become a part of the work force of our country.

Economic education would study the results upon our economy of low incomes. (The Joint Congressional Committee on Low Income Families reported in November, 1949, that 10 million families [32 million persons] and 6 million single individuals have incomes of less than \$2000 a year.) It would not be difficult to explain to high school students the difference between nominal, real and relative wages, and this would be helpful to understand rates of pay in this and other countries. Some knowledge of the banking system and of credit is surely a modern requirement.

On the positive side, Labor is using more technicians than formerly and the better their economic education in high school, the more effective their service as accountants, journalists, researchers and engineers. Union members should be able to anticipate trends and modify union policy

accordingly. They should be able to fight with facts instead of the old-fashioned fists, and it is not enough for only union *leaders* to know what is happening in industry. Each union member should know his rights and responsibilities and be a factor in creating opinion in his union meeting and among the general public. Nowadays a union member should be able to understand the complications of health plans and pension schemes and the administration problems involved.

Supplementary to the usual economic studies, members of labor unions as participants in a collective economic organization should know that "the tendency of living things to form societies is coeval with life itself." That *fusion* not *fission* "whether in physics or human affairs . . . comes much closer to reflecting man's natural behaviour patterns."¹

Even in modern mechanized large-scale production human beings are important. Coal mines are only holes in the ground without the human coal diggers. All the most intricate and clever machines in the factories would soon be headed for the junk heap, rusted away into useless iron and steel, without the attention of human beings to feed and tend and mend those machines. The magic of compound interest, which increases a fortune into a bigger fortune while its owner sleeps, operates because some people are sweating it out in mill, mine and factory.

Too many people forget the importance of human beings as such. We talk about risk capital and forget who bears the risk. We forget that a worker is killed every four minutes in the industry of the United States. We talk about our high rate of productivity in the mines and forget that our fatality and accident rate is also the highest. Human beings and human resources deserve conservation as well as oil and minerals and soil.

As the biggest single group of parents, trade union members are vitally concerned with the importance given to education and also with its aim. It seems that in 1947 the

American people spent \$68.57 per capita for liquor and \$26.43 per capita for tobacco, while in the same year the per capita expenditure for education was \$17.76. Attempts to alter those figures can be made only if Labor understands its stake in improving education both in quality and quantity. There can be little doubt that so far our high schools have emphasized practical professional advancement. The *Fortune* survey in September, 1949, showed that "Desire and ability to be a useful citizen ranked low in the tabulations when parents were asked what they thought college should do for their children." *Fortune's* survey comments "Educators have talked a great deal about the responsibility of the universities to train people for citizenship, but their words seem to have had little effect."

Because the labor unions represent the largest section of our citizenry, they naturally are interested in a higher quality of citizenship. We need far more cooperation between Labor, intelligent Management and the School to give a greater social significance to our education. This should mean planning for freedom by the actual participants in our industrial life. It means building up a group intelligence with a recognition of the indispensability of mutual aid between individuals in modern society. It means more alert and informed employees and employers. It would make possible a welfare state in the best meaning of that term with all working for the community well-being—"more givers than takers... producers rather than extractors."

Labor's stake in economic education is vital because such education is the indispensable base of intelligent citizenship in an advancing community.

* "Labor Looks at Education" (Inglis Lecture) Harvard University Press 1946, describes this neglect in greater detail than is possible here.

¹ (See M. F. Ashley Montagu, "Man and the Social Appetite," *Saturday Review of Literature*, Nov. 19, 1949, for elaboration of this idea.)

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OBJECTIVITY — THE KEY TO ECONOMIC UNDERSTANDING

John Hancock

Economic understanding is hard to come by. But, nevertheless, it is imperative that young people, now in our high schools, be given the tools to acquire that understanding. It is impossible to read a daily newspaper without realizing that economics is involved in the major events reported. Future citizens will need to be more intelligent about the need for balancing the budget or the effects of deficit spending, about the complexities of world trade, about savings and capital investment, about the many other questions that directly affect their very existence. To make sure that this future citizen develops economic intelligence there must be a program of economic education in our schools.

The problem of economic education is obviously not going to be solved quickly, but the way to go at it is to build on the interest where it now exists. The quick response by businessmen and educators alike to the value of a joint exploration of local economic problems and the results achieved to date by the Joint Council on Economic Education show the effectiveness of this method. These experiments resemble a "pilot plant" where the "bugs" are gotten out of the process. The diversity in the character of the experiments may be one of the healthiest things about them.

I believe we will learn that there are three or four "best" ways of doing this job of education in local and national economic problems. The results will depend on the plan adopted and the capacity of the people who operate it. Any plan must be in the hands of people who enjoy the confidence of their own communities, and these local groups should be free from any pressure from any group to adopt any part of a program.

I assume we all start with the conviction that our economy must have the broadest possible democratic basis of acceptance and understanding—an understanding possessed by our business leaders, our leaders in labor, government, and on the farm; our students and our teachers. It must necessarily be broad because our freedom is a personal, individual, democratic thing, and we each must understand not only why we are free, but how we can remain free. We must recognize that to be free politically and socially we must also be free economically. We must also recognize that in *working together* on our common problems we achieve strength. In this unity we find our democracy's greatest strength.

In our country we have been inclined to take our economic system for granted. Each of us has been concerned with developing his own business and professional success within the framework provided by our system but without much specific regard for the system itself. Sometimes it has seemed as if we didn't have a system as such, though we did glorify individual rights and responsibilities. That was the framework in which we worked. It was the result of the evolutionary process through which our people had passed.

The time has now come, however, for us to organize our thinking around ways and means of strengthening our economy, of knowing what we want to do with it, how we want it to operate, and why we want it to continue. We cannot win this objective merely by making or listening to addresses, making or seeing motion pictures about free enterprise, or by publishing or reading newspaper advertisements about it. We can win it only by personally working over it, discussing issues, analyzing them in relation to the common good, and spreading the results of this work to others.

Economic policies today are controversial, complex, and too mixed up with political implications. We vastly need objective thinking, a cool process of fact-finding, fact-processing, and factual analysis. Certainly we citizens of

the United States must learn objectively what *we want* and what *we need* in economic policy before we are ready to chart a full course to economic freedom.

The secret, of course, is *objectivity*. In this search for better understanding of our economic processes, we must turn more to conference and workshop techniques, bringing small groups of competent leaders together in a studious effort to get at the facts and to achieve an objective interpretation of them, and a crusading spirit.

How often have we looked closely at the *economic* foundation of our American communities? Is our teaching on this point adequate? Are our communities acquainted with what makes this country of ours such a successful going concern? Have we ourselves discussed our economic system in such a way that our students understand its importance? Do *we* understand it ourselves?

There seems to be a vast need for our students to understand more about our economy. They and we need to know the elements which make it stable or unstable, what causes good employment and what underlies unemployment. They and we need to know more about the things we produce in relation to the domestic and world need for the products. We need to understand the hard, cold facts of international trade in these days of mixed-up economies.

Unless each group knows that we are all interdependent, we will get nowhere fast. We need to have all groups working *together* on problems. It is this *togetherness* which has helped put this country where it is. *Togetherness* has helped us to win our major victories. When we, as a person or a group, try to go it alone we are apt to get away from objectivity. No special group has a monopoly of knowledge or experience or power. In this complex time, no one has *all* the answers. Our strength comes from pooling our ideas in order to build the invulnerable concepts of freedom, for which we all are working.

Why do I think this great problem should be tackled by our educators? Because they are competent, because they

are known to be fair-minded, because they are unselfish, because they are public-minded citizens, and so can be truly objective in their search for the truth.

Educating ourselves and our associates and our young people to be alert, solid citizens means we must arm each other with the economic facts of life. We must *know*—not merely believe—how economic conditions affect our country. We must understand our economic system in order to serve it well and in order not to betray it. For instance, we need to understand some of the present knotty problems of international trade and intermeshing economies. There are important decisions in this area which the citizens of this country will have to make and they cannot make them unless they have some basis of good judgment.

I do not mean to suggest that we are grossly ignorant in this country far from it. We have a great many facts and fact-finding agencies at work. We need to use them. Few leaders in business really comprehend the American economic system and if they do, they are seldom vocal about it.

I would not presume to suggest that farmers, businessmen, labor leaders and others should not be concerned with their own self-interest. But I submit that the time has now passed when we can afford the luxury of *exclusive* group-interest, for the simple reason that we are interdependent. We must increase the individual citizen's knowledge of his own role as a producer and consumer, of what the profit-and-loss system means, of the value of competition to economic freedom, and of the role of the market in a free economy. There are many ways in which this educational task can be approached. I should like to outline one tested approach which attempts to attain objectivity in its processes. It is the program of economic research in which the Committee for Economic Development generally known as CED, is engaged.

Formed in 1942, CED now includes on its Board of Trustees a number of the country's leaders in education. It is

a non-profit, nonpartisan organization devoted to economic research. It has no connection with any governmental agency or department, although it has the cooperation of government officials, and labor and farm leaders.

Organized originally for the purpose of *studying* the problems involved in transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy, CED today has a two-part program. The first part is devoted to economic and public policy research. Research studies are made and policy statements are issued on a number of vital transition problems, as well as on longer-range problems, such as, international trade, federal taxation, and agriculture.

CED research is conducted through the active personal cooperation of a group of industrialists and businessmen who comprise its Research and Policy Committee, and a group of distinguished economists and social scientists who comprise its Research Advisory Board and its research staff. These groups select together the subjects to be studied. They not only draw upon the men in the CED group but on qualified economists anywhere in the country.

The policy statement is discussed in real debating sessions. In light of the information developed, a new draft is prepared for the next session. The sessions are marked by objectivity on the part of all. Debate is on a high level of tolerance for all conflicting views. This process goes on until the group is ready to present its findings. Some studies have lasted as long as two years. From our own experience, we know it is a tough job to work for objectivity in research, but we are also learning the value of facing facts in seeking to be objective.

The Research and Policy Committee of businessmen issues, in its own name, these statements of national policy. In one such recent study of factors which contribute to our economy in the United States, the Research and Policy Committee of the CED discussed the monetary and fiscal policies which would lead to greater economic stability. What causes business fluctuations, we asked. What sets off movements that carry the whole economy up and down?

We found that the very fact that the economy is free and progressive and prosperous makes it tend to fluctuate—in a word, to be unstable. Why? Because it is free and competitive. Because its behavior is the result of millions of independent, though not unrelated, decisions. Because it is a money economy and individuals and businesses are free to decide what they will do with their money. All the individual decisions that determine the action of the economy are influenced by common information, beliefs and expectations, which expose the economy to mass contagions of optimism or pessimism.

Besides monetary and fiscal policies many other factors must play a part in strengthening our economy. wage-price policies, the structure of markets for labor and goods, agricultural policy, foreign trade and international finance, the construction industry, savings-investment institutions, labor and business policies.

A second interest of CED is in education. The CED Business-Education Committee has cooperated with colleges and universities in developing community research and study centers at the collegiate and adult level and we are pleased to have some part in assisting the Joint Council on Economic Education develop pilot programs from which we and others can learn more about techniques of objective study and how to translate findings into improved methods of teaching economics in the public school system. Through a work-shop program teachers are being provided the opportunity of talking and working with leaders from business, labor and government, men and women whose point of view has been disciplined by years of research. From this experience they have gained not only new information but skill in the analysis of problems—skill and information and inspiration which they will pass on to others in a national program to purify the stream of economic understanding at its source.

John Hancock is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Committee for Economic Development

PROMOTING ECONOMIC LITERACY THROUGH AMERICAN HISTORY

Paul W. Coons

I Functional Economic Orientation

Strange as it might sound to many students, American History need not be a mausoleum. Teachers can make the secondary American History course functional and vital. This responsibility of the social studies teacher is heightened and thrown into bold relief in the case of American History by the simple fact that more youth take American History than any other social study,—a condition that would exist even if the laws of forty-six states did not require its study. The immediate need is to find in American History opportunities for promoting good citizenship commensurate with popular and professional assumptions as to its efficacy. This is not an easy task. Nevertheless, the modern teacher must search for an approach to the study of our national development in terms of the realities of problems faced by today's youth. If this goal can be achieved, there is hope of transforming customary recital of well-known facts into dynamic consideration of the contributions of historical perspective to today's problems.

The vital questions are: Will pupils attain understandings of value in making their way in a world of baffling complexity? Will their appreciation of democratic principles grow? Will skills be sharpened for use in dealing with multiplying media of communication? Will behavior, in and out of school, show growth toward thinking and living as responsible citizens?

Of this total area, the economic aspects of our history form one important sector. There can be analysis of opportunities to highlight the significance of economic factors, delineation of functions of American History in economic education; and cooperative attempts by teachers to imple-

ment these functions. In short, the American History course can be given economic orientation and made a streamlined instrument of economic literacy. Moreover, this can be done without losing sight of the values commonly attributed to the study of history, rather, it is believed that investigation into the historical roots of contemporary economic problems will dignify and invigorate American History as a builder of responsible citizenship.

II The Unique Functions of American History in Economic Education

The key to improvement is held mainly by teachers themselves. When they sense the urgency of the challenge, when they work together in local committees or in workshops to clarify objectives and devise means of implementation in harmony with the realities of classroom situations, there is every reason to believe that economic understandings will emerge from instruction in American History.¹ Moreover, in a fundamental sense, it is reasonable to suppose that the whole teaching-learning process will be toned up by the effort.

First, teachers will do well to establish in their own minds the special and unique functions of American History in developing economic literacy. Certain things are marginal, incidental, or irrelevant. Such, for instance, would be the attempt to make history a means of mastering economic theory or of cultivating economic competence, though both might conceivably result. More to be deplored would be the perversion of history to promote loyalty to specific economic traditions and dogmas, for this is incompatible with the democratic process of weighing and evaluating all available facts. Again, advocacy of proposals to reform society belongs in another province beside the history classroom.

With functions of economic education that merit little

¹ See the following publications of the Joint Council on Economic Education: *The Improvement of Economic Understanding*, pp. 28-32, 1948, *Promoting Economic Literacy Through American History*, 1949.

or no emphasis in American History put aside, a search for valid functions is in order.

First, American History can provide a frame of reference needed for sound perspective on economic problems. Insights into historical origins enable students to rise above nationalistic and partisan levels of dealing with issues. Historical considerations prompt understanding of the interdependence of economic and other factors in social evolution. Trends over a considerable period of our history may be traced with resultant awareness that change, interrelationships, and adjustment of economic institutions to social needs may be recognized as features of a dynamic society. Using American History to develop such understandings provides a base for balanced interpretation of contemporary economic trends. At the same time this is the essence of a sound historical approach.

Secondly, American History by its very nature brings the student to consider the profound impact of the American economy upon the world situation and, conversely, the impact of world economic conditions upon our economy. The tariff, our participation in two world wars, the European Recovery Program, Point Four—these are a few of the items which current history thrusts into the forefront of our thinking. Whatever the political and cultural aspects may be, it is certain that the relation between economic situations will loom large as a key to understanding the new world responsibilities of the United States of the mid-twentieth century.

Thirdly, American History can facilitate awareness that economic situations exert vast influence on the development of political and social history, especially on the character of American democracy. From the founding of the colonies to the era of atomic energy, economic forces have played their part—often the dominant part—in determining the policies of political parties, the scope and character of laws and governmental activity. Democracy, as we know it, has deep economic roots in the opportunities afforded by our

resources, in our agrarian independence, in our labor union growth. Realistic treatment of American History in the classroom cannot avoid emphasis on the social and political contributions of economic developments.

Fourthly, the American History classroom has a moral obligation to confront youth with opportunities to evaluate economic propaganda. Intellectual integrity demands it. Preparation for living in a world where propaganda is as abundant as air, and much denser, demands it. What social studies course is more admirably adapted to providing practice in critical evaluation? Such names as Hamilton and Jefferson, Jackson and Calhoun, McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew Mellon and Norman Thomas are vivid reminders that conflicting economic views have brought countless Americans into heated clashes in daily conversation as well as in the halls of Congress. Today's youth, who learn to probe into the motives of the protagonists and antagonists of history, will thereby be better able to discern the maneuvers of tomorrow's propagandists.

Granted that history holds a place in general education by virtue of its potentialities as a builder of critical thinking, of sane and wholesome attitudes, and of responsible behavior, it is apparent that the American History teacher plays an important role. Our society has placed in the hands of the common man the power to determine the basic policies that orient our national development. Not only the power to vote, but the power to bargain collectively, the power to influence through educational opportunities, and the power to organize as consumers or to form countless other organizations lie within the grasp of the plain people. Every evidence that today's men and women are determined to hold and wield these powers enhances the significance of the teacher; his role becomes pivotal in a society where every man must learn to think and act as a responsible citizen.

III Marks of Economic Literacy

Let us appraise more exactly the kind of job that needs to be done. Few would dispute the enumeration of such marks found in the report of a committee of teachers at the New York University-Joint Council on Economic Education Workshop of 1949.

"American History can help a high school student develop understandings, appreciations, and skills leading to sound attitudes and responsible behavior patterns. A student thus affected would bear evidence of the following marks of economic literacy:

1. He understands the importance of economic factors in arriving at political decisions
2. He understands the interplay of legislation and economic development
3. He appreciates the characteristics and value of our economic system as compared with other systems
4. He understands the relationship between inequalities in the distribution of income and social tensions
5. He understands the development of organized labor
6. He understands the nature of labor-management relationship.
7. He appreciates the continuing, changing struggle for security
8. He understands the development of our various forms of productive organizations.
9. He understands how our physical environment influences economic activity
10. He appreciates the growing need for conserving human and natural resources
11. He understands how money, banking and credit are vital to our economy
12. He understands the significance of the development of transportation and communication
13. He appreciates the part his local community plays in our economic development
14. He understands the economic interdependence of the peoples of the world
15. He acquires the ability to locate and use intelligently the media of communication
16. He acquires a useful economic vocabulary
17. He acquires the ability to think critically on economic issues and arrive at reasoned judgments"²

² *Ibid.*, 2-3

IV Establishing Marks of Economic Literacy

Equally essential and considerably more difficult is the creation of classroom situations and the development of learning experiences which provide practical means to valid ends. A supervisor or a committee of teachers can state goals and functions and suggest implementation, they may even do so to the applause of colleagues. The classroom teacher, however, alone can build class morale and organize and guide learning activities essential to the realization of sound economic understandings and attitudes. In other words, the aim and implementation must be the teacher's own, either original or adopted, furthermore, students will need to see and desire to attain the end of economic literacy.

What, then, can teachers do? One group of classroom teachers that explored the problem suggested that the first task is to acquire a clear motivation for establishing any specific mark of economic literacy, secondly, to scan the field of American History to determine what salient facts may be used, what historical trends may be discerned, in order to attain perspective and straight thinking on the understanding to be developed.

Thus far, the procedure has been to determine the specific goal and its importance and to acquire and assess knowledge drawn from history that puts one on speaking terms with the facts involved. Let it be parenthetically stated that the procedure would probably not be as mechanical as this description may suggest. For instance, much of the motivation might well derive from discussion of facts long after the experience has begun. Likewise, it may be observed that the process thus far has been, if the classroom is democratically organized, a cooperative venture, with students and teacher participating in arriving at a definition of the understanding.

The third step is crucial, for talking about an understanding does not build it into the experience of a person. There must be experiences that are, at least, vitally intellectual. If

they are emotionally stirring, so much the better. But the ultimate goal is social action

What Then Can Teachers Do?

A quotation from the New York University-Joint Council study will illustrate the procedure with reference to one of the marks of economic literacy:

(MARK) "He appreciates the characteristics of our economic system as compared with other economic systems

(STEP I MOTIVATION)

Good economic citizenship involves active participation by informed persons who shoulder responsibility because they realize the richness of the American heritage and desire to perpetuate and improve it. Certain characteristics have emerged in the evolution of our system, rights to engage in any business of one's own choice, to invest one's savings, freely to buy and sell, to choose a trade or occupation, to join a labor union, to join with others to determine the role of government in economic activity. Along with these rights go the responsibility to conduct private interests in accord with the public welfare and the responsibility to support policies which would open the doors of opportunity to all.

In a world where the rights of the individual are being threatened by the advance of totalitarianism, it was never more true that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty'

Facts of history (STEP II RESEARCH)

- 1 People from other lands freely came to the new world to better themselves
2. The common man in this country has enjoyed a rising standard of living
- 3 The constitution provided for the protection of property rights, laying the foundation for subsequent economic as well as political development
- 4 Our free society has made it possible for individuals to join together in labor organizations, trade associations, co-operatives and other groups to protect their material welfare
- 5 In the twentieth century, the government plays an increasingly important part in promoting the economic welfare of the people

Experiences and activities (STEP III)

- 1 Through CARE or some other agency, send a relief package to someone in Europe.
- 2 Study a slum area in your region. What weaknesses of our economic system are indicated? How could they be corrected?
- 3 In your local community find examples of . capitalists, entrepreneur, cooperative, union shop, competition, government regulation of business.
- 4 In planning for your own future, which of the Four Freedoms seems the most important?
- 5 Compare the rights of a citizen in this country with a citizen of a country having a different economic system, in regard to the following items
 - a. Joining labor unions
 - b. Owning property
 - c. Buying and selling
 - d. Going into business for one's self"^a

Other practical uses of American History to promote economic literacy are likely to result as teachers commit themselves to this purpose. Meantime, hope that the problem which claim respectful attention is strengthened by the fact that teachers themselves made the above proposals in complete awareness of average classroom situations, of the widespread consecration to textbook teaching, and of curricular prescriptions that, in fact or fancy, tend to stifle creative teaching.

What of the Future?

Several needs appear from any intelligent appraisal of the status of American History in relation to education for economic understanding.

1. To determine the worth of materials thus far offered by the Joint Council on Economic Education, experimentation by teachers in many communities will be invaluable.

Group process may be used within school systems to promote further study. Teacher-training institu-

^a *Ibid.*, 5-6

tions are in an especially strategic position to refine and improve approaches and procedures. The effort need to be many-pronged if this evaluation proves valid.

2. The development of social action raises a fundamental question: Shall the chronological treatment of American History be discarded in favor of a problem-centered approach? Studies in the psychology of learning suggest an affirmative answer. On the other hand, the prestige of the formal, chronological organization of historical study is so strong that quick or easy progress can hardly be expected. Perhaps the best that can be anticipated in the immediate future is the moderate conversion of conventional courses to occasional, then increasingly prominent, functional emphasis.

Reorientation involves reconsideration of other factors. As the promotion of economic literacy wins support as a primary objective of instruction in American History, teachers will find themselves questioning content and procedure at many points. Has student interest been awakened and cooperation enlisted in the search for economic literacy? Has the vast array of factual material been subjected to critical evaluation? Have problems been defined so as to develop sound perspective on today's issues? Is adequate attention being given to the interrelationship of political, social, cultural, and economic aspects of historical development? Is critical thinking alerted? Is the study of facts for no other purpose than passing tests receiving proper discouragement? Are students evincing growth in responsible behavior? Our democracy has a large stake in the answers to these questions.

Paul Coons is Coordinator of the Social Studies in Hartford, Connecticut and a member of the Board of Trustees of the Joint Council on Economic Education.

THE PHILADELPHIA ECONOMIC SEMINAR**C. Leslie Cushman**

During the spring months of 1948 the Philadelphia Public Schools were invited to send one or two representatives to the first of the workshops sponsored by the Joint Council on Economic Education. In searching for these representatives, it was found that there were four persons, all in school positions where they repeatedly were required to act with reference to economic questions, who were willing and eager to attend. The director of the workshop was good enough to double the original offer, and all four Philadelphians went to the workshop.

In the fall of 1948 Philadelphia's four representatives came to the writer to urge that something be done to capitalize upon their summer's experiences. Other conferences followed, with many other persons involved—department heads and teachers of social studies and commerce, the director of business education, the Director of the Joint Council on Economic Education, and others. Out of these there were developed plans for the Philadelphia Economics Seminar.

The Economics Seminar consists of a group of forty-five teachers, department heads, and others selected to represent the nineteen senior and vocational-technical high schools in a study of ways to improve the teaching of economics in Philadelphia.

Since very few pupils enroll in separate courses in economics in Philadelphia, the Seminar is concerned primarily with the improvement of the economic understandings and attitudes developed through instruction in other social studies and in commerce courses. Further, the focus throughout the seminar has been upon the development of economic literacy throughout the pupil personnel, rather than upon the instruction of a few youth destined to specialize in economics. The reason for this may be noted from the follow-

ing paragraphs, quoted from an earlier account of the Seminar

"Americans are by nature an impetuous people, given to expecting for themselves and their families a great deal from the American economy. This spirit may be a great asset, or it may be a great liability. It is an asset if it is accompanied by reasonable patience and a desire to see how all groups, not just "my group," can get ahead.

"America has been blessed throughout its history by an unusual number of leaders able to rise above class, or party, or personal concern in the promotion of the common welfare. Fortunately such leaders are still found in our own day.

"Our times, for many reasons, demand that this same discipline or quality of character be developed in greater measure among all of us. It is our hope that through the activities of the Economics Seminar there may be developed a spirit, a point of view, and teaching procedures that will enable the Public Schools of Philadelphia to contribute more fully to this type of responsible citizenship throughout the student personnel."

The first type of activity of the Seminar has been related to the self-education of members. The most unique and important feature of this has been a series of general meetings where representatives of business, labor, and government, and professional economists have exchanged ideas with members. The speakers to date and their subjects have been as follows:

Economic Understanding and Effective Citizenship

Alfred H. Williams, President
Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia

Interrelation of the Various Parts of Our Economic System

A. D. H. Kaplan, Senior Economist
Brookings Institution, Wash., D. C.

The Business Cycle

Charles R. Whittlesey
 Wharton School, Univ of Penna.
 Wilson Wright, Economist
 Armstrong Cork Company
 W. B. Woodward, General Chairman
 Brotherhood of Locomotive
 Firemen and Enginemen
 Francis J. Coyle, Vice Pres.
 Central Labor Union
 H. Charles Ford, Director
 United Steel Workers of America, District 7

**The Role of Government in Maintaining High Levels
 of Employment**

Edwin G. Nourse, Chairman
 President's Council of Economic Advisers

These meetings have helped greatly to break through the provincialism that too often characterizes school planning. Teachers have developed an understanding of and appreciation for the problems that are faced by leaders in business and industry. They have sensed more fully the scope of the responsibilities of these individuals, and the zeal with which many of them attempt to meet those responsibilities. It has been particularly pleasing to note the concern of business and labor leaders with regard to what is taught in the public schools

During the course of the present year there will be seven further general meetings of the same nature, each designed to throw light on some one of the special problems which various subcommittees are studying

The second activity of the Seminar relates to the production of a series of seven resource units on economic issues that seem most in need of re-examination from an educational point of view. These units are to be developed to fit Philadelphia teaching situation. Each unit outline will in-

clude an analysis of the issue considered, an examination of the phases of the issue that can be made most meaningful to high school youth, and suggestions of ways to conduct instruction relative to the issue. The subjects chosen for these unit outlines are as follows

1. MONEY AND CREDIT
2. TAXATION AND FISCAL POLICY
3. THE ROLE OF SMALL BUSINESS IN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY
4. SOCIAL SECURITY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
5. LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS
6. WORLD TRADE AND THE POINT 4 PROGRAM
7. THE ADVANCE OF TECHNOLOGY

A subcommittee of from three to five members is responsible for the work related to each of these topics. Dr. S. P. McCutchen of New York University has been made chiefly responsible for the supervision of this phase of the program.

Seminar members are paid for their extra services through funds contributed chiefly by interested citizens of the city. Mr. Percival E. Foerderer, a trustee of the Committee for Economic Development has been particularly helpful in enlisting the interest and support of local business leaders. The School District has recently also shared in the financial support of the project.

The work of the Seminar during the two-year period of 1948-1950 seems clearly to promise a strong shot in the arm to economics instruction. It appears that the interest in economics will be greatly increased, that the extent to which economic considerations permeate practically every social issue will be more clearly recognized, and that there will be increased concern for the development of economic literacy among all students. No one believes, however, that this will

be sufficient for later years. Permanent and enduring improvement will come to the degree that teachers and department heads are aroused to dig more deeply into economic questions. The technique of conferring relative to such questions with persons active on various economic fronts of American life is one that may well be used extensively for many years to come

C Leslie Cushman is Associate Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

THE HARTFORD PROGRAM

Robert H. Mahoney

Since 1939 Hartford schools have made use of community resources and leaders in developing courses in industrial arts, in business, and in distributive education. At present, several members of the Board of Education staff are cooperating with the education committee of the Hartford Chapter of the National Office Management Association with a view to further improvements in business education in the three senior high schools of the city. Similarly, steps have been taken to bring the banks and the schools into closer relationship. While in the past the banks and schools came together to encourage thrift through a school savings program, at present, thanks to the interest of the education committee of the Connecticut Bankers Association, arrangements have been made to encourage guided bank tours for both teachers and students and to schedule the showing of films that reveal how the bank serves the individual in handling many of his economic problems.

The schools of Hartford have benefited also from the genuine interest manifested by the Hartford Chamber of Commerce in the improvement of public education. Its offi-

ceis have given much time to conferences with school personnel and it has made available considerable literature on the economy of Hartford that has proved of value in relating instruction to the community. Particularly useful is the brochure "Economic Description of Hartford, Connecticut," printed in 1948. Within its twenty-four pages there are informative paragraphs under such headings as the following: *Geography and History, Government, Tax Structure, Fiscal Control, City Finances, Public Safety, Health, Manufacturers, Insurance, Banking and Credit, Tobacco, Transportation, Utilities, Labor, Retail Trade, Communications, Housing, Industrial Associations*, and so forth. This booklet presents a splendid over-all view of Hartford's economy. Because of its many specific references to local interests, it serves as an excellent springboard for further exploration and study.

In the light of this background, it has proved easy to develop a more ambitious plan for economic education in the Hartford area. While the Hartford program is still in the exploratory stage, a number of important developments have taken place.

Chief among these has been the appointment of Paul W. Coons to serve as a coordinator to launch the program. Mr. Coons has been both student and staff member of the New York University Workshop and he is a trustee of the Joint Council on Economic Education. Thus he brings to his work keen interest and a thorough background.

To date representative community leaders from business, industry, labor, and agriculture have been identified. They have met frequently with representatives of public school systems in the Greater Hartford Area. The Consultant in Social Studies for the State Department of Education and professors from the University of Connecticut and Teachers College of Connecticut have come to the meetings. The interest of these two institutions is especially appreciated since the inauguration of summer workshops and of exten-

sion courses will depend upon the leadership they are prepared to offer.

In the belief that organization should emerge from functions and activities, there has been some hesitancy to do more than set up the Greater Hartford Interim Committee on Economic Education. It is confidently expected that permanent organization will be achieved some time in 1950. By that time the personnel of the Committee will be more completely representative in character, and a sufficient number of genuinely interested participants will have been enlisted.

One of the first activities of the Interim Committee will be to make a survey of the present status of economic education in Greater Hartford. Thus it will be possible to discover where immediate help is needed and to indicate opportunities for more intensive classroom emphasis. Recommendations on the kind of economic education that will better meet the needs of boys and girls in this locality, will undoubtedly come as a result of the discussions.

Fortunately for this program, it can draw upon many sources for help. Beyond the community, it can look to the State Department of Education which is calling for the re-direction and retooling of secondary education. It can look also to the recommendations of the Life Adjustment Education Commission,—in whose conferences a number of Connecticut educators have played a prominent role. Moreover, the formation of many community councils and study groups throughout Connecticut has created an atmosphere favorable to the program now under consideration. Finally, in all of its activities, it can count upon the thoughtful interest and stimulation coming from the Joint Council on Economic Education.

Robert H. Mahoney is Director of Secondary Education, Hartford Public Schools.

THE IOWA COUNCIL ON ECONOMIC EDUCATION

J. E. Stonecipher

The Iowa Council on Economic Education is a direct outgrowth of the 1948 Workshop at New York University. The two Iowans who participated became convinced that modern economic developments had grown beyond the meager background of economic theory that most Iowa citizens, including the teachers of social studies in schools and colleges, could bring into focus for understanding the current problems of our economy. The Workshop had done well its avowed task of arousing its members to the need

Superintendent N. D. McCombs of Des Moines took the first step by sending an exploratory letter to several colleges, businessmen, schools, and labor organizations in the Des Moines area, inviting those interested to meet with Dr. G. Derwood Baker in October to discuss means of promoting better understanding of economic problems. The response was gratifying and afforded much encouragement to continue further. In January, 1949, a second meeting was arranged, inviting a broad representation of Iowa industry, labor and education to attend. The problem of attacking the job of improving the economic understanding in Iowa was discussed. In characteristic American fashion, it was decided that cooperative effort required an organization which might both fix responsibility for action and place authority for planning and executing the will of the group. A temporary slate of officers and a small executive committee was chosen and empowered to draw up a constitution and take such steps as were necessary to promote the purposes of the organization until a general meeting could be called. Because the members of the temporary executive committee illustrate so clearly the cross sectional nature of the organization, their names and official connections are listed here:

Chairman: Dr. Woody Thompson, Director, Bureau of

Business and Economic Research, State University of Iowa
 Vice Chairman: Howard Hill, President, Iowa Farm
 Bureau Federation

Treasurer: Austin Finnessy, Director of Public Relations, Iowa State Federation of Labor

Secretary: J. E. Stonecipher, Director of Secondary Education, Des Moines Public Schools

Other committee members:

Vincent Starzinger, Secretary and General Counsel for The Des Moines Register and Tribune Company

Barton Morgan, Professor of Vocational Education and Head of Department, Iowa State College

Scott Pidgeon, President, Bankers Trust Company, Des Moines, Iowa

A constitution was drawn up for submission to members. Because of its brevity and the completeness with which it describes the nature of the Council, the first three sections are reproduced.

CONSTITUTION

Iowa Council on Economic Education

- I. PREAMBLE We, the undersigned, do hereby create the Iowa Council on Economic Education in order that better understanding of the principles and the operations of our American economy may be brought to the people of Iowa.
- II. PURPOSE In order to promote the understanding described above we subscribe to the following aims:
 - (a) The broadest possible dissemination of materials, pamphlets, and other sources of information and use of forums, conferences, clinics, etc., so that the understanding of our economy may be improved in all segments of our population,
 - (b) The development of cooperative working relationships among professional groups, lay organizations and other agencies in promoting and encouraging the understanding of economic principles,
 - (c) The encouragement of public schools and other modes of education and communication to make their full con-

tribution to the furtherance of economic and social understanding,

- (d) The promotion, undertaking, encouragement and financing of research, training, and publication in the field of economic education,
- (e) The development of workshops and other effective devices for the training of our teachers and administrators in the secondary school system so that they may better be qualified to carry out the above purposes

III MEMBERSHIP Any interested citizen of Iowa may become a member of the Council by application to the secretary and the approval of the executive committee

No dues, fees, or assessments shall be made of members

The executive committee was convinced that the sponsorship of a Workshop for the summer of 1950 was the most important initial step that could be taken. By such a project, key persons in all parts of the state could be brought into a full understanding of the purposes of the organization and each become a center for the development of further efforts to improve economic literacy among Iowa citizens. The invitation of the State University of Iowa to use its services and facilities was accepted from among several which were offered. Plans are rapidly shaping for the Workshop. Finances are being secured which will make it possible to invite participants who will be in strategic situations to further the work of the Council. It is expected that seventy-five will be selected, choosing about fifty from secondary school administrators and teachers and teacher training institutions, the remainder to come from adult farm, labor, and business groups, giving special attention to those whose work has definite educational implications.

The Iowa Council on Economic Education is a necessary organizational link which makes possible the cooperation of groups which have had no ready medium for working together. Chambers of Commerce, bankers groups, industrial organizations, farm organizations, labor councils, and federations, public school teachers, teacher training schools, and college level economics departments are among those

brought into action together under this arrangement. No previously existing organization seemed to meet the requirements for enlisting all those who can and should be involved. An interesting approach has been planned. The future may see the Council and its program change in many ways but the need for action is so great that the functions planned for it must be served in some way if our economy is to thrive.

J Edgar Stonecipher is Director of Secondary Education, Des Moines Public Schools

MINNESOTA WORKSHOP ON ECONOMIC EDUCATION

Barbara Wright

During the early summer of 1949, seventy people met together at the University of Minnesota agricultural campus for the first Workshop on Economic Education to be held in this area. One member of the group recently said of the three weeks spent at this workshop, "It was the finest educational experience I have ever had." This is the opinion of most of those who had the privilege of attending.

This workshop was sponsored by the Joint Committee on Economic Education and by the University of Minnesota, with the College of Education and the School of Business at the University sharing the responsibility for promoting and directing it. It was apparent at the start that such a workshop would have to be entirely financed by local sources, since the University of Minnesota had no funds which could be used for this purpose. Mr. J. Cameron Thomson, President of Northwestern Bancorporation, who is intensely interested in the welfare of the Upper Mid-

west, took the leadership in raising from business men in the area the budget necessary to underwrite the project.

Like the Workshop on Economic Education sponsored by New York University at Riverdale Country Day School in 1948, this workshop was operated on a "living in" plan, with all members housed in dormitories. The program was planned to give workshopppers a background of national income economics, followed by presentation of and discussion of current economic problems such as international trade, farm subsidies, currency and marketing problems, and labor-management relations, and cooperatives. Workshopppers met together mornings and evenings to listen to outstanding persons present these issues and then, in true workshop fashion, to discuss their presentation in order to look at all sides of the question. In the afternoon the workshop members worked in committees to translate the information and insights they were getting in the morning and evening lectures into curriculum materials which could be used primarily at the secondary school level. As a result of these activities, ten bulletins were issued. Eight of these are Resource Units (in experimental form) which have been made available to all members of this workshop and to a great many other school people.

An evaluation of the workshop was undertaken by the following methods: each member was asked to fill out a questionnaire during the closing days of the workshop, each working committee was asked to spend part of one of its last sessions in discussion of 4 questions related to evaluation of the workshop and to summarize and report the results; four months after the workshop had closed, each member was invited to send in a short statement giving his reaction to it and telling what use he had made of the experience. A study of these reports indicates many positive values. Among them are the following:

- 1) The presentation of subjects and issues was as objective as it was possible to make it. Several members came

wondering what brand of economics was to be presented, and they were especially wary because "business" was underwriting the costs. They were convinced, however, that both the workshop directors and the lecturers intended to present the facts, to examine all sides, and to leave the workshoppeers to come to their own conclusions. Sometimes one point of view or another was over-stressed or under-stressed, and sometimes the workshop directors were unable to find persons in the community to explain or support a point of view. However, the discussion periods and the questions raised after the lectures usually brought the presentation in balance.

2) The opportunity for representatives of business, industry and labor to get acquainted with educators, and for educators to get acquainted with community leaders was judged by all to be extremely valuable. Through the press and by letter, leaders in the community were given the program for the workshop and invited to sit in at sessions in which they were interested. Frequently specific persons were invited to act on panels or to serve as resource persons at particular sessions. Often those who came once were so interested that they came back or sent other members of their firms or organizations. Usually there were eight or ten guests at each session. At the end of the workshop, our guest book showed 240 signatures.

3) The policy of including in the workshop not only teachers from all levels and from many subject fields, but principals, superintendent, and curriculum directors proved sound. The recommendation from the group was that another year we extend the coverage to include teachers in agriculture, in adult education, and more people associated with community activities. It became apparent that in a very real sense, every teacher these days must be, in some degree, a teacher of economic education. Some of the workshoppeers came with almost no background in economics; others had a great deal. This made it difficult for the staff

However, the values that came from people so different meeting together offset the difficulties, and although they did not all come out at the same place, all had made progress.

4) The impact of this workshop is now being felt in the schools in this area. Reports from workshopppers in November, 1949, contain comments such as the following.

"My appreciation of the workshop is constantly increasing as I use the information in my senior economics class. "—"I have been able to do a better job of teaching such subjects as food marketing, consumer buymanship, home planning and budgeting. . ."—"My broader outlook makes me a better teacher of eighth graders "—" "Workshop widened my economic viewpoints Find I am able to stress economic facts in my senior social problems classes much better than formerly "—"Our resource files have gone pretty much around ————— High, and I have let teachers in other buildings use mine "—" "We are using the curriculum unit, 'Labor-Management Relations' in our American Problems class . ."—" "Expect to offer a course regarding taxes and our economy during the winter session of night school "—" " My student teacher at present is making use of one of the units, and is studying a couple others "

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THE MICHIGAN COUNCIL

Morton S. Malter

Sixty-five teachers and administrators, representing forty-seven communities in Michigan, participated in an economic education workshop at Michigan State College in

August, 1949. At the conclusion of the workshop, these educators unanimously suggested the formation of a Michigan Council on Economic Education to further economic understanding in the state. They selected a steering committee, headed by Dean Herman J. Wyngarden of Michigan State College, to appoint a board of trustees. At the present writing, selection of the initial membership of the board is almost completed.

The board of trustees and general membership will determine the eventual functions of the Council. However, the following considerations undoubtedly will affect their decisions: a) Suggestions of the workshop participants, b) state needs and interests, and c) projects already underway. On the basis of these considerations, the Council will function as follows:

Helping to establish workshops in colleges and universities. Institutions of higher learning are desirable and logical places for initiating state programs for economic education. For example, Michigan State College was able to house all workshop participants in Mason Hall. This permitted a continuous exchange of ideas on economic education by the participants. Many excellent educational and recreational facilities were made available. The departments of education and economics provided the full time services of several staff members. Economists and educators were brought in from many parts of the United States as consultants. Finally, the workshop established a pattern for conducting unbiased economic discussions. This last fact is reflected in the participants' answers to the following question: "In thinking about the total workshop program, do you feel that the emphasis has been slanted in favor of management, labor, or fair to both?" Results: Slanted to management, 4, to labor, 1; fair to both, 55.

Although sixty-five educators attended the Michigan State College workshop, many localities could not be represented. Continuation and extension of the college workshop, eventually to include representatives from all areas in

Michigan, is therefore highly desirable. A number of institutions in the state, including the University of Michigan and Wayne University, could provide the facilities necessary to conduct these workshops

Helping to establish community workshops on economic understanding Michigan includes many diverse economic interests. It is the home of the automobile industry and United Automobile Workers, C.I.O. In recent months, these two groups have affected the national economy in various ways. The citizens of our state, therefore, must possess adequate economic understandings to play an effective role in our democracy. Workshops on a community level can help to provide these economic understandings

Participants of the summer workshop have been actively engaged in developing the community workshop idea. They made an auspicious start in this direction when they explained their summer workshop experiences to 125 leaders from their own communities at a dinner in the Michigan State College Student Union. In the past six months, they have spoken frequently to their local Parent-Teacher-Organizations, Kiwanis Clubs, Chambers of Commerce, Farm Bureau, Lion's Club and other civic organizations. Almost all participants have talked about economic education to the teachers and administrators in their school systems

Several Michigan communities have already established local workshops. The Ferndale Adult Education Department in the fall of 1949 presented a series of six meetings on economic understanding. Patterned after the summer workshop, each session included a speaker, motion picture and group discussion. Niles, Michigan has also organized a workshop on economic education for adults in the city. Flint is conducting a seminar on economic problems with the cooperation of the Mott Foundation and the University of Michigan Extension Division. Approximately forty elementary and secondary teachers are attending the seminar.

Helping to improve the teaching of economics in the public schools As a result of the summer workshop, many

Michigan schools are improving their economic courses. For example, Sturgis and Clare report that the workshop technique has been introduced in their economic classes. Saginaw is using booklets prepared by the Twentieth Century Fund as supplementary material. Ferndale is showing many of the motion pictures viewed at the workshop. Flint is conducting a survey on "Identifying Pupil Problems which Encompass the Total Area of Economic Living." This resource unit was developed at the workshop. These and similar changes are preludes to the introduction of a functional social studies program, based upon pupil and community problems.

The framework for building a functional social studies program fortunately is present in Michigan. Over 100 high schools are parties to the Michigan College Agreement. Under the provisions of this agreement, higher institutions in the state waive conventional course requirements in admitting graduates of the participating high schools. In return, the high schools are required to provide for pupil guidance, make follow-up studies of their graduates, and experiment with their curricula. A participating high school not only can alter the activities within a course, but, more important, it can devote large blocks of time to studying emerging problems.

The Michigan Council can take a leading part in effecting curricula changes and, consequently, improve the teaching of economics. Through support of the college workshops, it can produce educational leaders. Through support of the community workshop, it can educate additional teachers and parents to the need for curricular improvements. It can provide needed classroom materials and consultant services. Finally, the Michigan Council can serve to channel information about interesting educational projects throughout the State.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol. 23

April 1950

No. 8

EVALUATION IN TEACHER TRAINING

The problem of evaluation is, perhaps, the greatest plague of education today. Of the billions of dollars spent on education—one of our greatest American enterprises—we know very little about what action produces what result. No business could afford such an extravagance.

The educators violate almost every tenet they profess when they come up against this problem. For instance, take the principle of maturation. Whatever else we know, we are certain that people do not mature at an equal pace. Yet our ratings assume that students are near enough to the same point of maturation that they can start classes together and that they mature enough alike that they can be compared at the end of the experience by the rating system. Nothing could violate more of what we know about the principle of maturation. Colleges are rated by their "standards" on such ratings. Students are rated by them, and, indeed, the faculty themselves are rated by them.

Or again, take the problem of degrees and grades as motivation. Of all the things we say we believe in, this is one of the ones on which we are most convinced people should not work for extrinsic rewards. This author has worked with a youth organization that has been berated by educators for years because they emphasize merit badges, ratings and other such trappings to motivate youth and their program. These same educators, however, and their

colleagues continue to look upon degrees and grades as the alpha and omega of education. There is scarcely an accrediting system among the colleges and universities but that would look with disdain upon too many people on a faculty without doctor's degrees irrespective of the competencies such persons may possess.

Another facet of the problem which makes such education stultifying is the point made so often by the Editor-in-Chief of this magazine, Dean Emeritus, E. George Payne, to the effect that what we test for as an end result in education is going to determine what we teach. If the end result is measurement of factual information, every person who appears before a class, if he wants to hold his job is going to make certain, whatever else happens, that such information and facts are imparted.

Has not the time come for American educators to face this problem realistically and develop methods of evaluation which will move the present program out of the doldrums?

DAN W. DODSON

A STUDY OF THE HOME LIFE OF WELL ADJUSTED CHILDREN

Irving W. Stout and Grace Langdon

What in family life helps children to be well adjusted? Eight teachers, graduate students at the State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, undertook in 1948-49, to answer this question by carrying on parallel studies, each concerned with the family life of twenty well adjusted children. Herewith, an analysis and summarization of their combined data is presented by the authors who respectively directed the study and advised concerning it.

Many general, varied, and interrelated influences possibly causative of good adjustment were recognized in home,

school, church, and community living. However, the commonly accepted belief that home and family living is the most potent single influence was adopted as the basic assumption. It was decided to limit the study to that one influence. It was decided to ask parents, through personal interview, what they did which they believed furthered their child's good adjustment.

Discussion brought out the following additional considerations to be decided upon —1. The geographic area for the study, 2. Criteria to determine good adjustment, 3. Selection of the children, 4. Information to be secured, 5. Interview method, and 6. Method of recording information.

The geographic area agreed upon was Milwaukee, Wisconsin, with an estimated population of 850,000.

Criteria to determine good adjustment were agreed upon as follows: 1. Does he play well with other children? 2. Does he appear to be a happy child? 3. Does he have reasonable control over his emotions? 4. Can he be depended upon? 5. Is he achieving somewhere near his capacity? 6. Is he able to think for himself? 7. Is he kind and helpful to teachers and classmates? 8. Is he liked and respected by his peers?

Selection of the children was recognized to be the crucial matter. It was agreed that —1. There should be a wide range of choice, 2. There should be every possible assurance of good adjustment according to the criteria, and 3. There should be as wide a representation as possible of family pattern. The public schools were chosen as the source for selection. Each principal, with the consent of the Superintendent, was asked to name, with the help of his teachers, in light of the criteria, not more than ten of the best adjusted children in his school, regardless of sex or age, except that 6 years should be the lower limit. (This lower age limit was adopted on the perhaps fallacious assumption

that good adjustment is more easily discernible after 6 than before)

Information to be secured, it was decided, should be of two types:—1. Factual information on general environment and parental background, and 2. Whatever parents would spontaneously tell in reply to the question forming the basis for the study—WHAT IN THE FAMILY LIFE HAS HELPED YOUR CHILD TO BE WELL ADJUSTED?

The interview method, it was agreed, 1. Should be kept as natural, friendly, and informal as possible, 2. The interviewer should maintain as complete open-mindedness as humanly possible, 3. Care should be taken to avoid any manner, comment, or attitude discouraging free response, and 4. The interviewer should be ready to LISTEN keeping expression of individual ideas and opinions to the minimum.

Recognition that both interviewer and interviewed would vary in approach and response brought agreement that while guided by the above suggestions each interviewer should conduct his interviews in the way individually natural.

In the interest of free response check lists, questionnaires, and set questions in any form were decided against.

Practice interviews in ten homes contributed to refining the interview method and forecast the willingness of parents to be interviewed.

Method of recording information was agreed upon as follows:—1. Face sheet with case number, subject's age, grade placement, height, weight, and general appearance, siblings and their ages, 2. General environmental information, type of home, number of rooms, neighborhood, etc., 3. Parental background, age, education, employment, economic status, and 4. Account of what parents said.

It was agreed that the account of what the parents said should be as objective and accurate as possible, include

direct quotation as much as possible, and indicate interviewer's comments, if any, as such.

The findings of the study will be reported in two parts—Part I, Background factual information, and Part II., Account of what parents said. Since two records could not be completed the findings are based on 158

THE FINDINGS

The only claim made for the findings of this study are that they are true, as reported, for THIS group of children

Part I. Background Information

The 158 children ranged from six to twenty-one years, falling into the following age groups—six to nine years thirty-three, ten to fourteen years one hundred three, fifteen to twenty-one years twenty-two. The largest number in a given age group, it may be noted, is in the ten to fourteen year group, commonly thought of as most likely to be delinquent. Of the 158 children seventy-two are boys and eighty-six girls.

Of the 158 children twenty-six were only children. Of the remaining 132 children, sixty-four had two; forty-four had three; thirteen families had four, five families had five; three families had six; and three families had seven, eight, and nine, respectively. Of these 132 children fifty-eight were the youngest; twenty-four the middle, and fifty the oldest. The widest age differential between the child of the study and the next sibling was fourteen years with twelve showing differentials of ten years or more. From this it appears that for these children neither the ordinal position in the family nor the age differential with the next sibling is a significant causative influence.

General Environment. Of the 158 families ninety owned their own homes and sixty-eight rented. Several parents stated that they felt owning their home was a factor in the child's security. One family, however, "preferred to

rent, using the home cost for doing things with the children." Of the 158 families twenty-five had lived three years or less at present address; thirty-four from four to six years, thirty-one from seven to nine years, twenty-nine from ten to twelve years, and thirty-eight more than twelve years.

The number of rooms per home varied from two homes having two rooms to three having more than ten rooms with five rooms and six rooms each reported for forty-seven homes. The number of rooms in the home and the number in the family were by no means proportionate, one family with three children having two rooms and one with an only child having eleven rooms. Of the 158 children eighty had a room of their own and seventy-eight shared a room with one or more, usually a brother or sister.

Of the 158 homes forty-two had relatives living in the home, including usually one or more grandparents, but also aunt, uncle, and in one instance an aunt with her two children. In forty of the forty-two homes, the relatives were said to be an asset. Of the remaining two, in one the child "shows some annoyance" and in the other the child "resents it but is learning not to let it bother her and to be considerate."

Neighborhood environment is described as ranging from excellent to very poor, with some neighbors kindly and understanding and others fussy and unpleasant. Some have large yards in good residential sections and others have no yards living upstairs rear overlooking alleys and business houses.

Parental background. Age of parents at the birth of the subject were as follows,—forty-five mothers and nineteen fathers were 18-24 years, fifty-six mothers and fifty fathers 25-29 years, thirty-one mothers and thirty-nine fathers 30-34 years, twenty-one mothers and twenty-nine fathers 35-39 years; five mothers and fifteen fathers 40-44

years, and no mothers and six fathers 45 years or over. Mother and father were the same age in twenty-one instances, the father older than the mother in 125 with differential of one year to eighteen years, mother older than father in twelve with differential of one to eight years.

Nationality background varies so widely as to preclude any significant grouping. No one nationality predominates, mention being made of Italian, German, English, Scotch, Swiss, Scandinavian, Polish, French, Negro, Irish, Dutch, Russian, Turk, Syrian, Greek, Welsh, etc., in various combinations. In seven of the 158 families both parents were foreign born, in twenty-five one parent was foreign born, and in fifteen parentage shows six generations in this country.

Formal education information shows that two mothers and one father were illiterate in English. Of the remainder thirty-seven mothers and fifty-two fathers had eighth grade education or less, twenty-eight mothers and thirty fathers had some high school but did not finish, sixty-two mothers and forty-four fathers finished high school, nineteen mothers and five fathers had some college but did not finish, nine mothers and thirteen fathers finished four years of college, and one mother and thirteen fathers had more than four years of college with eight holding MA degrees and two doctorates.

Of the 158 families sixteen fathers were in unskilled occupations, fifteen in semi-skilled, fifty-four in skilled, eighteen in supervisory or management jobs, five in administration; eight in sales work, eighteen owned their own business; and twenty-two in the professions. Mothers were on full time jobs outside the home in twenty-four instances and on part time jobs in five, the latter including helping in the father's store part of the day.

Yearly income at the birth of the child varied with nineteen reporting less than \$500 and twelve reporting over

\$7000, with \$2000 being about the average. Yearly incomes at the time of the study were reported by two as less than \$1500 and by four as over \$15,000 with forty reporting income of \$4000 to \$5000.

The wide variations shown in these environmental factors suggest other influences as being more causative of good adjustment than any thus far revealed.

Part II. Parent Accounts

For reporting purposes parent statements are grouped under the headings:—Type of home and child; Routine Discipline; Religion; Recreation and family doings; Family relationships; and, Attitude toward the child. Findings from parent accounts will be reported under these headings. Statistical treatment of these findings was abandoned lest it hide individuality of expression, conceal clarifying explanation, or obscure underlying philosophy.

Type of Home and Child. Parent comments conceivably depict, what to them seem to be identifying home characteristics. They present a diversified picture. They tell of reading, of music, of games, of entertaining friends, of family reunions, of money "used for trips instead of things." They tell of one home "crowded for space but we get along and are happy"; of another that "is no place for children but it's all we can get so we keep it nice inside and do the best we can"; and of another where "we play down material things as relatively unimportant." These homes are not without their problems for in one the mother is partially paralyzed. In two the father is alcoholic and the mother has the home responsibility though each speaks of the father's love for the children. In one the father has been ill for months. In another the financial strain is so great the father says, "If it were not for him I could not go on."

The type of children these are can best be told in the parents' own words:—"dependable, fine art talent", "serious but is learning to joke", "always having fun", "takes things

in stride", "must be busy is never idle", "loves to tease, affectionate, full of fun", "gift of blarney, clever, thoughtful", "even tempered, great organizer", "orderly, trustworthy, loving", "holds her own and has normal inclination to be naughty", "bubbling, vivacious, poised", "gentle, on the quiet side "

Parents showed agreement on their child being well adjusted though one mother said "the other two are even more so" and another wondered why her boy was chosen, though she described him in a way that easily explained the choice. However, parent agreement in the choice did not preclude mention of sulking, temper tantrums, inquisitiveness, noisiness, bossiness, and other behavior commonly viewed askance. Records do not reveal whether, in the parents' eyes this was good adjustment in a given situation, or whether it was recognized as a passing phase in growing up, or whether it was seen as a relatively minor detail in an overall picture

One parent mentioned "what a joy it is to be able to talk about how nice my child is without being thought a bore" and another, a mother in a trailer home told how reassuring it was to have her own judgment of her child as well adjusted confirmed. And still another said "You can't know what it means to have all we have worked for recognized this way " Perhaps this tells why not one home refused to give the interview.

Routine. Here is grouped information on family schedules with relating rules and regulations, home responsibilities, and the child's money, both allowances and earned.

Schedules range from, "everything timed and done without question" to "no strict routine but we get things done " In one family there is "Enough routine to give a definite framework " In another, "everything is regular and there is a written list of specific responsibilities " In another, "We don't think much about routine, we just plan together

what needs to be done and do it " Many explain schedules as resulting from father's working hours, mother's outside interests, child's activities, and one says, "It's just the way we like to live."

Regularity of meals and bedtime are frequently mentioned and with such qualifying comments as, "She (13) * is never told to go to bed but she goes when it is time." "Mother tucks in and I (father) come in for a talk—that is part of our regularity (10)" "We were rigid when he (12) was little but now we leave it pretty much up to him for he knows what is expected "

High on the list of routine rules and regulations are, getting to meals on time, coming to table clean, letting whereabouts be known, and being in by dark Variations in statement show widely divergent ways whereby these rules are made and enforced, ranging from "We make the rules and insist they be followed and believe me they are" to "We're here to guide and not to order and the rules we have we make together."

Some home responsibility, though varying in amount and difficulty, is expected of the children with only one exception Here the father of an eleven year old boy says, "He's too young to have to do things He will have to when he is older—let him have his way now " And to fully understand that point of view one would have to read the story of rigidity in a European home and of a father's yearning desire to give his son what he has missed

Back of varying practices in home responsibilities are definite points of view, e.g. "We expect her to help but we feel it is important to do so willingly"; "We don't make a big problem of things to be done but we feel they should do things because it is their home", "We expect them to help but we trade responsibilities when they get tired", "She has things to do and I expect her to do them, I never could understand a child's loafing", "There are duties but

* Figures in () indicate age of child

we try to spread them because we know how bored you can get doing one thing."

Allowances range from fifteen cents weekly to two dollars with twenty-five cents, fifty cents, and one dollar being the common amounts. Several parents state definitely that they do not believe in allowances. A few give no allowance but pay for chores. One, with no allowance, provides a "Lucky Jo Jar" from which the child may take as needed. Allowances were begun for one child at four years, for several at six, and for others later. Some are free to spend as they wish, some may spend but must give accounting, some must meet certain obligations and then may spend as desired; some are required to save a certain amount. Several are saving for college. Earning of money is prevalent from the seven year old with his lemonade stand to the seventeen year old who helped paint a house. Paper routes and baby sitting are chief sources of income.

Religion In seven of the 158 accounts religion was not mentioned. In four it was mentioned negatively as follows—"We believe in church but we have no time to go." "We do not go to church and he (8) has not gone to Sunday School yet but he probably will." "We feel religion stresses fears and worries so we do not believe in it. We answer her (9) questions about God by explaining nature. Recently she said, 'Mother I'll believe in God if you will' but I told her we do not think that way." "We teach that other peoples' beliefs must be respected and we teach right and wrong. We observe the traditional holidays but we took such a beating in Europe we are bound to doubt. You have to have blind faith. Religion depends so much on what you go through in life."

In the remaining 147 accounts religious affiliations mentioned include Catholic, Christian Science, Greek Orthodox, Jewish, Latter Day Saints, Polish National, and various of the Protestant denominations e.g. Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, etc.

Several accounts tell of mixed Catholic-Protestant marriages with the handling of differences described as follows,—“We had trouble at first and he was not baptized until his brother came when I (mother) made an issue and my husband changed.” “We do not discuss our differences before her (10). She wanted to go to Sunday School and we let her.” “We teach that religion starts in the heart which is what really matters” “It is no issue, we just don’t go to either.”

Attendance of the children at Sunday School or other groups for religious instruction is prevalent. Some began at two to four years, others waited until seven or eight or later. Some went alone to the church of their choice, some alone to the church of the parents’ choice; and some with one or the other or both parents.

Parents indicated their points of view about religion thus—“We want him to learn about God, the church doesn’t matter” “Nothing interferes with church for us.” “We believe these basic things, love for God and man, give solidity and unity in a family. Our problems are always met with prayer and it solves them all” “He went to Sunday School but quit because he wanted to do things with me so I went and that changed his whole attitude” “We feel that much of her happiness (17) comes from spiritual peace. They have to learn to love God from little on. This waiting to pick religion later is nothing. They do what they are taught when young.”

A deeper insight into the influence of the family attitude and practices as regards religion conceivably would follow its consideration in closer conjunction with other aspects of the accounts where high moral standards are often revealed and deep spiritual feeling shown though not verbally associated with religion as such.

Discipline is mentioned in each of the 158 accounts. Parents describe themselves as stern, strict, rigid, free, fairly

free, or in-between, with such overlapping qualifying statements as to indicate the relativity of the descriptive word to the parents' own viewpoint

Methods of accomplishing disciplinary purposes range from parent-applied punishments of varying severity to "deciding together what to do about it"

Parent-applied punishments include spanking, deprivation of privilege, sitting on the naughty chair, going to bed with bread and milk for supper, going to bed without good-night kiss, mother refusing to converse, soap treatment, allowance cut, and isolation. In the category characterized by "deciding what to do about it" are, reasoning, talking things over; putting the problem into story form, and explaining reasons and hearing all sides. Many accounts indicate a combination of talking things over with either parent—applied or parent-child-agreed-upon punishments.

In seventy-eight accounts spanking is specifically mentioned, twenty-four stating that the child has never been spanked, thirteen that there has been one spanking or two but not more than three; twenty that the child was spanked when younger but not now, and twenty-one that spanking occurs "occasionally" or "when talking fails." Comments explain viewpoints, e.g. "It makes them stubborn when you hit them and only adds to what they already did." "I would rather use humor than to hit them, for they droop when they are hit or scolded." "We couldn't strike. We would lose our respect and theirs." "We spanked her once but it did not penetrate and we learned we would have to lead and not drive." "We used the good old stick twice but he kept saying 'why' and when we explained we did not need the stick." "We spanked him once but it made him so angry it was worse than what we spanked him for." "We make ourselves count ten and then we are not mad enough to spank."

Interspersed in the accounts are comments revealing use

of preventive measures to reduce cause for punishment, e.g. "We try to make the good desirable and there is seldom need for punishment." "We stress the Golden Rule and it prevents lots of trouble." "We fix them so they are so busy they don't have time to get into much trouble and if they do we talk to them. They are reasonable and we do not have to use authority." And over and over parents say, "We try to set a good example."

Back of these practices in discipline lie points of view variously expressed:—"We haven't thought of discipline much, they want to do right", "If well trained early you do not have to do much later," "I never want them to do anything from fear but I want them to mind," "They have to learn to behave but beatings make children sullen and no correction makes them unruly so we try to hit mid between." "We discuss and there is no discipline problem. What we want is to have them self reliant. They say I am hard in an easy going sort of way." "We don't live by rules. We set the example and all learn from each other."

In discipline, even as in previously reported matters of routine, rules and regulations, home responsibilities, money, and religion, practice varies so widely as to seem at opposite poles and explanatory comment is equally diversified and divergent.

Recreation and Family Doings Together Of the 158 reports all but six make specific mention of doings together as a family. Of these six no comment is made by three; two do not go out together one on account of father's drinking, the other because of his work hours, in the third no reason given.

The other accounts tell of family doings of all sorts—of picnics, hunting, fishing, swimming, of sports, skating, skiing, baseball, basketball, and football, of concerts, trips to the zoo, museums, art gallery and library; of shows, and school doings, and of frequent eating out "so the children will know how to act."

Accounts give the impression of active families never at a loss for something to do, doing things together designedly and with enjoyment. They say —“We like to be together as a family and we do it all we can” (Mother, stepfather, three children) “We go as a family a lot. We plan our yearly vacation for months. We are an outdoor family and since we live in this rear flat it is our one chance to get out so we take a tent for the boys and we sleep in the car so we can go farther on our money” “The biggest of all of our many family projects was our summer home. Dad planned it and the family (nine children) built it” “Now that she is fourteen and selects her own friends we include them and we do many things together but different ones now such as trips out of the city and more grownup things in the city”

Children's individual interests are described as including sports of all sorts, games, active and quiet, collecting of everything from stones to dolls, crafts, art work, carpentry, modeling, scouting, reading, etc. with a marked interest in music. This latter includes concert going, record playing, and lessons on piano, accordion, drum, clarinet, saxophone, violin, and cello. Baton lessons are common. Movie attendance varies from “once a week” to “once in a long while”. Comics are often mentioned but receive at most only such a comment as, “We are in the comic stage now but it won't last long, there's too much else to do”. Friends seem to be uniformly accepted and welcome and one home after another is described as being headquarters for “the gang”, “the crowd”, “everybody he knows”.

Comments grouped under the heading of “Recreation and Family Doings” unavoidably overlap with and directly lead into those grouped under “Family Relationships” and “Attitudes toward the child” still remaining to be reported. Indeed, so closely are the three groupings interrelated as to make separation even for reporting difficult. However,

the remaining two seem to reflect more clearly the motivating power, the activating purpose, the guiding philosophy underlying and encompassing all the practices here to now reported.

Family Relationships In 147 of the 158 homes the subject lived at the time of the study with both of his own parents; in five with mother and step-father; in one with father and step-mother; in two with mother, father and mother separated, in one mother died and father, daughter (17) and son (15) carry on together; in one both parents died and paternal grandmother, subject (11) and brother (20) constitute the family.

Comments on relationships of parents with each other, of each with the subject, and of subject with siblings, point to underlying factors simple in their statement but profound in their significance and fertile in their implications.

Parent descriptions of their own relationships contain only one mention of friction which is stated thus by the mother, "Father is hasty, quick tempered, tries to strike the boy (13) which I will not allow." The father was not seen but was described by the mother as a "lived unsuccessful business man." Relationships are described variously:—"I (father) never get angry at her but she does at me for I often don't do the shopping right but I think Ma is perfect" to which Ma replied, "We have our ups and downs but he is all right too." "We (father speaking) are two of the best misfits you could find but we do all right and we love each other." "We are as much in love as we were fifteen years ago and we don't care who knows it." "I would still pick my husband." "I (father) wanted my wife and married her even though my parents had chosen another girl for me." "We married young. We wanted to. Ever since I (mother) was working I wanted a home of my own and children." (Has 6) Again and again in one way or another father or mother or both expressed their love for

each other and their satisfaction and enjoyment of being together.

"We don't agree 100% but after we talk it over we agree" This is typical of many accounts showing parents having different individual opinions, talking it out, coming to some sort of agreement, and indicating their basic relationship as unmarred by such differences. One mother summed it up, "We argue but we get along fine including our son's girl."

This family solidarity is evident from the oft repeated statement, "We do everything as a family." In one family of five described as "all getting into any argument", when the subject (13) was a bit apprehensive at being elected president of her club the family organized as a club with officers and met weekly to discuss family affairs in order to give her the needed help.

Basic relationships of father and child are indicated by such comments as—"At Easter the boys (15, 13, 6) gave me (father) a watch. They had saved their money and not even their mother knew it." "I (step-father) never wore a tie clasp but when that boy (15) gave me one I couldn't wait to wear it." "I (step-father) never saw a nicer boy. (10) He kisses us both good night and it means a lot for it was two years before he gave me any voluntary affection." "The children (mother speaking) think their father is invincible because he is a policeman but he tells them he could be put into jail, too." And the father added, "It gives me something to live up to for I can't fail them."

Mother-child relationships yield statements showing similarly close feeling and tell of many incidents typified by—"He (14) saved his money and surprised me with a corsage for Easter. That was one wonderful corsage."

Subject's relationships with siblings are described as ranging from "rivalry for father's attention" and "more competition than we like to see" to "looks to his brother

(20) as he would to a young father " Siblings are said to "tease each other but stick together", "spat when together but miss each other when apart" and "get along fine" Preparation for advent of sibling is mentioned in many accounts as being the occasion for the first sex information which both then and under other conditions is freely given.

Attitude toward the child Running through the comments explanatory of practices there has emerged sometimes clearly, sometimes dimly the attitudes giving rise to the practice Purposely this was left with the practice to which it referred, leaving for this latter grouping only those so generally stated as to relate to all practices of whatever sort These apparently reveal the sought-for basic reason for the good adjustment of these children.

Parents speak of their *love and affection* for the child thus —"We love them and they know it" "We are never too busy to show affection" "Love and affection is the most important part of family life and we never fail to show it" "Love is the most important part of our family life and with it we smile our way through everything" "We think children must be loved and know it, it is the best thing we can do for them."

They speak of *making the child feel wanted* "He (18) has always known he was 'our boy' and greatly beloved" "You have to let children know they are wanted or they turn mean We sure let him (12) know it" "We have always told her how happy we are to have her (17) and she still loves the story of how her father's headache the day she was born disappeared when he saw her"

They speak of *appreciation, trust, confidence* "He's such fun, he's a real pal" "He has never failed us and I know he won't." "We are so proud of her and we tell her so many many times." "We would trust her anywhere"

Added to these sometimes spoken, sometimes implied, is respect for the child as a person and willingness to let him

be an individual. Willingness and gladness to be parents and to take the responsibilities of parents is so uniformly expressed or implied as to appear significant. And revealing deep feeling are such comments as —“My father never had time for us, he was always too tired. I want my boys to have what I missed and I am doing my best.” “I buy the house for him, I work for him. I got nothing, not even love from my father and I want him to have it all, but I can’t kiss him now only when he’s asleep, he’s growing up so.” “Neither one of us had love and we want him to have what we missed.”

In these attitudes toward the child and in the basic family unity growing out of them seem to lie the only common denominator to be found in the accounts of the family life of the 158 well adjusted children of this study.

CONCLUSION

Practices stand off, sharply defined by their variations, as only procedures, techniques or ways of doing. No one procedure, no group of techniques can be reliably designated as the one way by which the good adjustment of these children was achieved since good adjustment allegedly resulted from them all. Family relationships stand out as weaving together into family patterns the practices, procedures, and techniques described—weaving them into patterns so diversified that not in the pattern itself can be found the cause of good adjustment since it comes from them all. The attitudes toward the child seemingly become, then, for these 158 children the explanatory factor—love and affection, being wanted, being appreciated, trusted, being accepted as a person, being looked upon with respect as an individual.

Many will find in this conclusion confirmation of opinions long held and frequently expressed. Many will feel that the major contribution of the study lies in the support it offers to such opinion. Many will properly wish to have these

findings tested for validity through similar studies with other groups. Some may wish that in this report fuller portrayal of practices and procedures might have been given in the family setting in which they occurred. Some may wish that implications in the diversified family patterns of necessity presented here only in fragmentary form might be followed up with presentation of those patterns in their entirety. Some may wish that the parents as people might have been pictured in relation to the family pattern. Some may wish for further information about the children themselves, their achievements, their ways of meeting their problems. Some may look for pets in the family picture. They are there. Some may wish for comment on the relationships with relatives outside the home. They, too, are there. Some may wish that the technique of the interview might have had fuller treatment. Some may regret omission of the interviewers' comments. All of this is in the accounts but must await a later and fuller report for presentation.

POST-WAR CRISIS IN FRENCH TEACHER TRAINING

Eric M. Steel

In most countries the present shortage of teachers, particularly elementary teachers, is acute, in France it is alarming. An unprecedented increase in the birth rate which already has made, and will continue to make, more teachers necessary than ever before, has occurred at a time when young people, especially young men, are contemplating a

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career in education with an unprecedented lack of enthusiasm. Admission to the *écoles normales* (training colleges for elementary teachers) has always been determined by competitive examination, and the number of candidates has always been several fold the number of vacancies. Today the situation is reversed. Not only are candidates much less numerous than vacancies, but the academic record of many is so inferior that they have to be rejected by an educational system which, despite the critical shortage, still refuses to sacrifice quality to quantity. In 1939, 15,901 candidates presented themselves, of whom 2,838 were accepted, in 1946, out of 4900 candidates all of whom could have been used had they shown sufficient promise, only 2417 were judged worthy of admission to a training college. In 1947 the *Ecole Normale* of Paris, whose favored position has always enabled it to handpick its students, could find only twenty-six satisfactory candidates for 120 vacancies. In the provincial *écoles normales* the enrollment problem has been still more serious. Some of these have been unable to attract a single candidate and are consequently functioning today with a mere score of students.

The causes for this universal reluctance to consider elementary teaching as a career are by no means obscure. It is indeed generally admitted that the intelligent young Frenchman of fifteen or sixteen can readily advance a number of excellent reasons for *not* wanting to become a teacher.

The most obvious, of course, is that the elementary teacher in France, as in many other countries, is notoriously underpaid. In pre-war years there was no dearth of candidates for the profession, partly because then the teacher earned at least a living wage—mainly because education offered important advantages with which industry and commerce could not then compete. Only the teacher enjoyed a two-month paid vacation, a pension, a three-month leave

of absence at full pay for sickness or disability. Today the industrial worker, in addition to being better paid than the teacher, is also granted a three or four-week vacation with pay, and benefits from a system of social security which provides both for accident and old age.

Immediately after the war, too, the lure of commerce was wellnigh irresistible. The dearth of consumer goods was such that anyone with anything to sell on the legitimate as well as on the black market could fill his pockets with easy money. Even at the present time, when a recession has begun to darken the commercial horizon, it can safely be assumed that the young men who make a business of inducing American tourists to part with their dollars at twenty points below the official black market quotation are making a better living than those who after four laborious years of study have qualified for the teacher's pittance.

Another argument against a career in education currently being advanced by young men is that the equality of salary and of opportunity for promotion for men and women makes teaching much less attractive for the former than before the war. Then, an elementary teacher could support a wife and family after a fashion. Now, thanks to an increase in the cost of living with which the increase in salaries has hopelessly failed to keep pace (salaries have gone up fifteen-fold, essential commodities thirty, forty, and fifty-fold) a male teacher must choose between celibacy and marriage with a woman both willing and able to earn her own living.

The destruction wrought by the war in certain regions has further tempered the enthusiasm of prospective teachers. In Normandy, for example, 4900 classrooms were destroyed and 6000 damaged, with the result that even today thousands of children (and hundreds of teachers) are condemned to swelter in summer and shiver in winter in makeshift buildings. Not infrequently a teacher whose home

has been spared has been obliged to make a bedroom or kitchen serve as an improvised classroom. In most districts untouched by the war lack of funds has allowed schools and teachers' residences alike to sink into a state of dilapidation to which only those fired by genuine missionary fervor can remain indifferent.

To these material deterrents must be added the spiritual one resulting from the loss of prestige which the rural school teacher has suffered in recent years. Time was when he and the curé enjoyed a respect due to their being the only men in the community with any pretensions to learning. Today cinema and radio have rendered the intellectual stature of both much less imposing. Also, the schoolman's prestige was due in great part to the fact that he generally settled down for life in the community to which he was appointed. Today the total inadequacy of salaries in the poorer districts has compelled the teacher to keep shopping for a better position, thus forfeiting the affection and esteem which only long years of service in a community can awaken in its inhabitants. In addition, the topsy-turvydom of the post-war French economy has bred a transfer of respect among rural and city Frenchmen alike from the man with an education to the man with money. In pre-war times money meant a larger or a smaller share of material comforts. Today it often spells the difference between eating and starving. Money therefore counts as it has never counted before, and so the post-war moneyed aristocracy in France, the B.O.F. (butter, egg, and cheese man) are today the objects of the envy and admiration with which provincial school teachers used to be considered.

II

Even if the Third Republic had survived the debacle, all these causes would be operating today to discourage the would-be teacher. Its dissolution in 1940 made matters worse. Indeed, the most charitable statement that can be

made about the educational measures of the Petain regime is that they failed notably to make a career in elementary teaching more attractive. The *écoles normales*, stocked and staffed by children of the people, had long and justly been regarded as nurseries of democratic ideals. When Petain, in his fumbling attempt to "regenerate" France, decided that democracy was at the root of French decadence, he naturally abolished them and set up in their place a system of regional Institutions of Professional Training offering a year's course instead of the four-year curriculum of the *école normale*.

To qualify for elementary teaching under the Petain government, a young man had to attend the *lycée* for three years of general education, graduating thence with the baccalaureate degree. Petain speciously justified this "reform" by contending that it would bring the future elementary teacher into school contact with the future doctor, lawyer, diplomat, and business man, and so deal a smashing blow at class-consciousness in France. The *lycée*, however, being in fact an institution for the *élite*, is characterized by conservative, if not reactionary tendencies, and Petain's purpose was not so much to raise the social status of the sons of the proletariat as to prevent the upsurge of radical ideas which generally resulted from their four-year association in the teachers' colleges. To further destroy the esprit de corps of the *normaux*, those "black hussars of the Republic", the Petain ministry decreed that even in their single year of professional education, they would be trained, not together, but in shifts. While a third were engaged in a three months' course in methods, another third were assigned to practice-teaching, and the final third were allocated to schools of technology and agriculture. Whatever incidental merits may be detected in this plan to prevent the dissemination of "subversive" ideas, one egregious weakness converted it into an educational monstrosity: At least one third of all teachers in training were assigned to

practice-teaching without having previously benefited from an hour's instruction in how to teach!

The extent of Petain's success in killing the democratic spirit in the elementary is dubious. Some at least of the new Institutions for Professional Training, notably the one in Paris, kept the old *esprit de corps* alive by quietly sabotaging the shift system. What is beyond a doubt is that Petain did achieve a result for which he was presumably not striving. By abolishing the teachers' colleges, he indirectly undermined the prestige of elementary teaching. Also, by making a three-year spell at the *lycée* mandatory, he diverted into other channels young men who, if the *école normale* had still been available, would probably have turned to teaching. Not only has tuition in the teachers' colleges been traditionally free, but books, board and room, incidentals, and in some schools even clothing have been furnished by the state. In the *lycée*, however, tuition alone is free. Consequently parents who could have afforded a normal school education for their sons balked at the expense of the *lycée*, and sent them instead into minor positions in industry and commerce, where they were forever lost to teaching. Besides, of those prospective elementary teachers whose family finances permitted three years at the *lycée* not a few changed their minds while there, and, equipped with the baccalaureate degree, opted for professions socially and economically more attractive.

III

The ministries of education of the Fourth Republic have thus been confronted with a crisis which the social and economic chaos resulting from the war rendered inevitable, but which the reforms of their anti-democratic predecessors did much to aggravate.

The first post-war measure was naturally to restore the *écoles normales* and to reorganize them in such a way as to make them more attractive to young Frenchmen. The

Pétain-inspired ruling that the elementary teacher must possess the baccalaureate has been retained. It would be more reasonable, however, to consider this degree as a reward rather than as a requirement. To earn it, the student teacher is faced with no harder or longer preparation than his pre-war course demanded, and having earned it, he enjoys not only a social prestige which he was previously denied, but also the right to embrace any of the liberal professions, to which the baccalaureate is still the indispensable entrance requirement. True — because of their new eligibility for other fields, more normal school students abandon elementary teaching today than before the war. The awarding of the degree has nonetheless so far proved more efficacious as a drawing card than a decoy.

To bring in students at various periods in their school career, two categories are now entitled to admission instead of the original one: 1. those who have already received their baccalaureate at the *lycée* or the *collège*; 2. those who have still two years to go before qualifying for this degree. The former attend the *école normale* for a two-year period devoted exclusively to professional training; the latter attend for four years, during the first two of which they complete the requirements for the baccalaureate. Actually today there exists a semi-official third category consisting of those for whom the degree is still three years distant. These are required to take only one year of professional training. Thus at present, for the same teaching certificate two years of preparation are demanded of some, of others, only one. The French, who have always had a horror of anomalies, are determined not to allow this one, born of the urgent need for teachers, to survive. One of the first measures taken as soon as the shortage becomes somewhat less critical will undoubtedly be to require all qualified instructors to take a two-year course in the theory and practice of pedagogy. It is characteristic, however, of French educational administration, which has always in-

sisted on the high cultural standard of teachers, that if corners have to be cut, the professional course rather than the period of pre-professional academic studies is the one to be curtailed.

A certain relaxation of the requirements for admission to the new teachers' colleges should be interpreted less as a concession to the teacher shortage than as recognition of the inevitably lower potentiality of the post-war student. Young men who have lived for five years in unheated homes, who have barely survived on an inadequate diet, who have missed classes because of sickness, and who have frequently come to school after having spent part of the night in air-raid shelters have obviously been incapable of the same performance as students educated under normal conditions. But such indulgence as the examiners have displayed must by no means be considered as a virtual opening of the gates of the teachers' colleges to all comers. The twenty-six candidates accepted in 1947 by the *École Normale* of Paris were certainly not all up to pre-war standards but the significant fact is that in that year, in spite of a crying need for elementary teachers, more than 100 applicants were turned away. France has long been proud of the intellectual and professional capacity of her "black hussars", and intends to remain so. The Ministry of Education, therefore, instead of granting certificates to mediocre candidates, prefers to staff the schools with temporary teachers rushed through a three-month training course, but denied the badge of distinction and the privileges of tenure, promotion, and pension awarded only to graduates of the *écoles normales*.

To some this insistence on standards, "come hell or high water," appears quixotic; to others it seems at least as intelligent a way of coping with the teacher shortage as cramming the colleges with all who can be inveigled into them, while the subject of the capacity of the candidates is by common consent avoided.

An ingenious solution of the problem resulting from the insistence of the Ministry of Education on a four-year course and the reluctance of students to remain without income throughout that time has been to offer a salary for the final year at the *école normale*. Its amount is modest, but it does permit the careful student, after paying all his expenses, to start off on his professional career with a nest egg of some 75,000 francs (\$230). It seems probable, too, that the current demand for a salary for both years of teacher training will shortly be acceded to.

Another step in the right direction has been the reclassing of all qualified in-service teachers. Although their request to be placed on the same basis as army officers with salaries ranging from that of a second lieutenant to that of a major has not yet been granted, salaries have been raised as of January 1, 1949, to a minimum of 191,000 and a maximum of 438,000 francs (plus modest living quarters) for those who ultimately become principals of a ten-room elementary school. As we have seen, however, their pre-war real wage, instead of being increased, has been sharply cut, and their present plight may be realized by simply converting these sums into dollars (590 and 1350) and bearing in mind that food and clothing in France today are as expensive as in most parts of the United States.

Sundry proposals have also been mooted to lighten the burden of the rural teacher, who has served his community in as many ways as his American counterpart (teaching Sunday school alone excepted) and who in addition has functioned as secretary to the village mayor. His participation in local administration has been considered advantageous to the cause of education, and the Ministry has hitherto been reluctant to relieve him of this extra chore. Recently the suggestion has been made that the teacher be granted an assistant to take over his civic duties. In view of the current shortage of both teachers and funds, however, it is difficult to foresee how or when this plan,

even if approved, could be put into effect.

To raise the prestige of the elementary teacher and at the same time improve his chances of promotion, it has been further suggested that the certificate awarded him on the completion of his two-year professional course at the *école normale* be accepted as part credit towards a higher degree, the *licence*, hitherto the prerogative only of the secondary teacher and the person preparing to enter one of the liberal professions.

It may be safely said that every method employed in America to induce young men to enter elementary teaching has been adopted in France—with two exceptions. First—no attempt has been made to work out a single-salary scale for elementary and secondary teachers, nor are the former likely to make any such demand as long as at least two more years of study punctuated by stiff competitive examinations are required of the latter. Second—no vigorous propaganda has been made by the teachers' colleges in the French equivalents of the American high school. It is possible, the authorities admit, that a few more students might turn annually to teaching if attractive brochures were placed in the hands of the eligible, if films portraying the joys of teacher training were shown in the high schools, if a faculty member were relieved of all duties and allowed to concentrate on promoting sound public relations. But when reproached with lack of enterprise in this direction, officials at the Ministry gloomily point out that life in a French teachers' college is undoubtedly somewhat more austere than life in an American one, that the young Frenchman is perhaps less susceptible to the appeal of advertising than the young American, and most important of all—that absolutely no funds are available for such a campaign.

Lack of money, they all agree, is the root of the present evil. Other factors may be held partly responsible for the lukewarm attitude of the post-war student towards elementary teaching, but if the teacher were offered a salary

permitting him to live like a professional man, the shortage would soon be over. This does not mean that the young Frenchman of today is mercenary, or that, as one (and only one) contributor to the professional journals has suggested, a substantial salary raise would serve merely to attract young people without ideals. Many high school students would like to teach school but feel they simply cannot afford to. Nor are they going to be lured into the profession by after-dinner speeches by public officials and inspired utterances of the President of the Republic, who periodically reminds them that their country needs their services in the educational vineyard. Idealism is not dead in France, though it is somewhat less robust than in pre-war days. Many feel the common man has already given his country as much as it has any right to expect. For France's sake he has languished five years in German prison camps. In response to patriotic appeals he has lent his savings to the government, to be repaid in worthless paper. Only those who tempered idealism with prudence are financially equipped today for leading the good life. The rest are perforce engaged in a scramble for daily bread.

The potential teacher's sales resistance is further stiffened by the conviction that the government, despite the many claims on public money, could do more for education if it genuinely wanted to. While 6 per cent of the national income is allocated to the schools, between 30 and 40 per cent goes for arms to fight the "three days' war", which is as long as the French military machine is expected to be able to resist possible attack from the east.

As long as young men feel they must choose a career that will offer them a livelihood, they will avoid teaching. Since they are likely to continue to feel thus, and since it is improbable that the government will shortly see its way to meet their modest demands, the teacher shortage is a problem with which, as one writer has observed, successive ministries of education will have to wrestle throughout the predictable future.

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PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION IN OCCUPIED JAPAN (AS SEEN BY 69 JAPANESE EDUCATORS)

Ellis Ford Hartford

Introduction

Some justification must be offered for the appearance of still another article upon the problems of education in the New Japan. The *Education Index* lists no less than twenty-three articles, two pamphlets and two books which have appeared on the subject within the past two and one-half years. Furthermore, the authors of several books on recent and contemporary developments in Japan have treated education along with other aspects of the nation's reconstruction. Consequently, it would appear that anything further upon this subject must possess merit, it must either be an excellent treatment or utilize a different approach and since no claim can be made for the former distinction, the latter must suffice.

Seriously, the following brief treatment is different inasmuch as the content is based upon the results of a survey of the opinions of sixty-nine Japanese professors who hold positions in institutions of teacher education in Japan. The writer had the unusual privilege of teaching in the second Institute of Educational Leadership in Tokyo during the late winter and spring of 1949. Eighty-three professors from Japanese teacher training institutions were numbered among the participants of the Institute. This group of professional educators was asked to submit lists of "the most important problems which affect education in Japan" and the following summary is the result of that survey. A total of 140 items were listed by the 69 respondents, slightly more than an average of two for each list. One list included eight problems and another included five, but the vast majority named only one or two items. Since no in-

structions or illustrations were used in making the request, it is felt that the responses were relatively free and that they represented the thinking of the individuals in the group. The problems named comprise a broad range of areas, but it is obvious that they affect Japanese education either directly or indirectly. No effort has been made to edit or change the statement of the respondents in any way; however, for the sake of brevity and clarity, it has been necessary to group items which are clearly related into several broad categories which we may call problem areas.

The items most frequently mentioned bring into relief three important problem areas in Japanese education. The threat of Communism in the struggling young parliamentary democracy of Japan is clearly viewed as a serious problem by teacher educators. Twenty-one statements listed this problem in some form or other. Hence, our first problem area *Democracy vs Communism*. The second largest problem area was indicated by eighteen responses which may be grouped together under the convenient title *Teacher Selection and Education*. A strong third position was awarded to the perennial problem of adequate financial support for the schools; this we have designated as *Financial Support for Education*. These and other problem areas have been presented in the order of their acknowledged importance.

Democracy vs Communism

This large problem area, mentioned in some form by 21 respondents, clearly ranked high in the thoughts of Japanese educators. This concern was further evidenced by the number of questions which were raised by the participants in the Institute for Educational Leadership sessions and by board members, superintendents, teacher consultants (supervisors), and teachers in conferences and meetings in nine prefectures. Regardless of valid questions about the gravity and/or appropriateness of the concern over this

problem, it is clear that such apprehension exists in Japanese educational circles. The writer is well aware of the oft-noted views of other writers upon contemporary Japan; some view the basic issue as between a weak, superficial machinery of democratic political action and the possible return to power of the high-handed reactionary cliques which formerly dominated most aspects of Japanese life; others will question the issues as stated since democracy has yet to become the way of life in Japan. Truth there undoubtedly is in each of these views, but the fact remains that no other problem was so frequently mentioned by the Japanese teacher educators we contacted. These leaders appeared to have an informed view toward the question. They recognized that much of the so-called Communist strength might possibly be of the "protest" variety against intolerable conditions of housing, unemployment, and want. For example, it was in Osaka, a city which took a terrific beating from our B-29's, which lacks housing, employment for thousands of former employees of shipping firms, and where many teachers live with their families by night in the very classrooms where "Papa-san" must teach tomorrow, that the Communist vote was largest in the last election. These men know that repression is not the answer, but they are concerned about democratic ways and means of dealing with the problems of Communist infiltration in the teachers' unions and their use of classroom teaching situations to indoctrinate the youth. Viewed from these considerations, their concern about this problem appeared valid.

Teacher Selection and Education

The strong concern about this problem area by a group of teacher educators was to be expected. There was apprehension about the current shortage of teachers, particularly for the elementary schools, but even more for the problems of recruiting and selecting the capable youth needed

as teachers. Formerly, in the "mid-thirties", the normal schools admitted only a fraction of the applicants, today, only a few are screened out, and the facilities of teacher education institutions are not crowded. The best students do not enter teaching in sufficient numbers. There were also a number of references to the poor quality of teachers who lack permanent credentials. The most typical statement one could select would read something like this: "Our big problem is to select and educate capable teachers (for all levels) who can improve and promote successfully the democratization of Japan."

Discussion about the best plan for educating the number of teachers Japan will need was an ever-present concern of the professors. Both short and long term programs at pre- and in-service levels were considered in the light of the teacher shortage.

Financial Support for Education

Discussion of educational finance was very much in evidence in the spring of 1949. The Dodge mission was at work upon its program of "austerity" which became Occupation policy, and later, the basis of budget legislation by the national Diet. Education fared none too well in this budget, a phenomenon not unknown in American circles. The failure to provide financial support for the new system of Japanese schools was particularly damaging at the time. Increases had been requested to provide for the additional year of compulsory education required by basic school legislation, the construction of desperately needed school buildings, the in-service education program for the Japanese equivalent of "emergency teachers", and other worthy objectives, to say nothing of the need to supplement salaries of teachers and professors whose annual earnings would not suffice to keep an American in cigarettes and reading matter. American advisers at the top level, and education officers of the military government teams at the prefectural

levels, had urged the new boards of education and superintendents to prepare to meet these needs. Consequently, the impact of the "austerity" program was especially noticeable, and it was obviously a major concern of the teacher educators at the time of our requests for lists of problems.

It should be noted that many boards of education and superintendents made intelligent and successful efforts to revise and trim their proposed budgets to meet the anticipated income under current national and prefectural legislation. A traditional budget item for "Entertainment" was most commonly affected by the budget slashes.

Most statements referred to the "lack of adequate financial support"; several noted that legislation requiring the maintenance of nine years of compulsory school could hardly be implemented unless sufficient school revenues were forthcoming. Another common statement noted the need to replace war-destroyed and damaged buildings, and to provide equipment for the new secondary school programs. Mention of low or insufficient salaries for educational personnel has been included in another problem area.

Philosophy of Education

Many scattered statements which were received appeared to be comprehended under the above heading. These referred to the need to examine and determine the "true aim of education", for the development of "foundations of education" aspects of teacher education, the relation of the new education to the reconstruction of the political-economic-social structure of Japan, whether Japanese education should be based upon idealistic or pragmatic assumptions and other questions. This keen interest of Japanese teacher educators in philosophy is not surprising in view of the traditional emphasis upon philosophy in university curricula. It should also be noted that sociology has been conspicuously absent in programs of teacher education in that country.

Needed Buildings and Equipment

Closely related to the problem of inadequate school support was the need for additional buildings and equipment. Many school buildings were burned and destroyed during the war, and others were seriously damaged. One cannot visit a large city (except Kyoto) without seeing visual evidence of this—windows boarded up in place of window panes, temporary props to support buildings, gaping holes in roofs and walls, and flimsy, clumsy repairs which should be replaced. In addition to the need to replace lost buildings, and equipment, there is the problem of providing adequate facilities for the extended program of schooling (9 years compulsory) and the 3 years of free education beyond that point. Finally, the undiminished birth rate of the nation means continued pressure upon the school in years ahead. Already many schools are being used for two shifts of children daily. Certainly, concern for the needed buildings and equipment appeared to be justified.

In-Service Education of Teachers

Considerable attention has been given by both Japanese leaders and American advisers to the need for developing programs of in-service education for the large number of inadequately-qualified teachers. Each teacher education institution has been urged to formulate programs in cooperation with prefectural education authorities. Observation of the work and discussions of several sub-committees of IFEL participants indicated an active interest in developing such plans for the teacher education institutions as a continuing function. It was recognized that Japan will have inadequately-educated teachers for many years and that effort to assist with in-service education programs will be necessary for a long time.

Vocational Education and Guidance

The changes in secondary education, particularly at the senior high school level, have brought to the fore the need

for adequate programs of guidance and counseling and of vocational education. The *Shinsei Koto Gakko* (new upper secondary school) program wisely admits both full and part-time pupils to a comprehensive curriculum. Vocational education is to have equal status with the time-honored Chinese classics (the Latin of Japanese secondary education), Japanese history, mathematics, and foreign languages. Moreover, the vocational education offerings have been related to the prevailing occupational opportunities of the area. This has resulted in subjects related to fishing in schools of coastal villages on the Sea of Japan, in stress upon sericulture in central parts of Honshu, emphasis upon skilled trades, etc., in industrial cities and the like. All this is novel to the educational leadership of Japan, and the teacher educators share a general concern about the successful launching and operation of the comprehensive upper secondary school program.

Organization of New Education

A clear-cut problem of genuine concern to many Japanese educational leaders may be cited in the need to establish and maintain the new educational system. Japan is now fully committed by legislation to promote the 6-3-3-4 plan of organization. The new set-up comprises an elementary school of 6 years (compulsory) *Shogakko*, a lower secondary school of 3 years (compulsory) *Chugakko*, an upper secondary school of 3 years (open to all but not compulsory) *Koto Gakko*, and a new 4-year program for colleges and universities in place of the traditional 3-year curriculum. These fundamental changes present many critical problems of financial support, of buildings and equipment, of re-education of teachers, and new concerns for administration, adequate supervision, instructional materials and the like. One illustration will suffice. In conferences with Japanese school people a frequent question was "How can a schedule be made for the new *Koto Gakko* program?"

Educational Administration

Two general questions properly fall into this category. There was valid concern about the lack of qualified administrators to lead in the establishment and efficient operation of new schools. Likewise, there are few Japanese who have had any opportunity to understand the duties and responsibilities of members of boards of education. It should be noted that a twelve weeks' session in IFEL is the only training which superintendents have been given and board members have had only brief conferences of one to three days plus the advice of education officers attached to the Military Government teams.

In spite of these handicaps, it is possible to find some evidence that the newly-elected boards and superintendents have made encouraging progress in identifying and discussing the problems which must be solved. The writer's experience in holding conferences for the board members and administrators is the basis for this statement. As a result of these contacts there appeared to be grounds for hope of real progress as the boards and administrators gain confidence by reasonable success in dealing with problems of educational administration. Much depends, of course, upon the availability of sympathetic and capable educational advisers on Military Government teams. Where these were present, the situation appeared promising; conversely, the most discouraging situations were those where Occupation authorities utilized methods which were more dictatorial than democratic. It was this observer's opinion that it would be better to have no adviser at all than to have one whose activities and attitudes defeat the basic purpose of both the new constitution of Japan and Occupation policy, namely, growth toward the democratization of Japan.

Curriculum Development

Six statements related to the importance of work upon the needed new or reconstructed curricula for Japanese

schools. Need for relating the instructional programs to community life was emphasized, and there was considerable evidence that American books on curriculum development have influenced the thinking of Japanese educators. For example, such terms as "areas of living" and "The Virginia Plan" were frequently encountered. Indeed, it is possible to report that one school has received recognition for a new curriculum based upon the latter scheme (Kawaguchi, in Saitama prefecture).

Needed Research

Functions of research and experimentation on the part of national and prefectural agencies of education had not been recognized or carried on to any important extent. That very condition set the stage for a mounting concern about the place, functions, and uses of research on the part of school systems, institutions of teacher education, and other agencies, for it is written in the school laws of Japan that each prefectural board shall establish a department of research. This the boards have done by official action. But what does the department do? and how? even why? These questions were very much before the directors of these departments, and certain professors have been asked to advise and to help. Certain specific areas of research needs were designated by three professors: (a) long-range studies of various aspects of education should be started (e.g. on a scale comparable to the "Eight-year Study"), (b) co-operative studies of educational theory and problems should be undertaken by professional groups, institutions and school systems, etc., (c) the accumulation of adequate records of educational practices and research should be initiated (in other words, an educational literature is needed).

It was interesting to note that a number of educational groups have already been formed in Japan, notably among the participants in the first and second IFEL programs.

Teachers' Salaries

Three lists of problems stressed the insufferably low income of teachers as a basic problem, and a number of others implied this point in comments upon school finance and economic conditions. Two additional comments relating to other conditions affecting the teachers' security were concerned with tenure and with the gravity of the problem of mental health of teachers. It should be noted that Japanese teachers have a certain guarantee of tenure under the national service, but there have been many shifts in teaching assignments to different localities and to different levels of teaching. These shifts appear to be regarded almost as seriously as actual loss of a teaching position, and this impression was strengthened by the discussions in conferences with boards and superintendents of seven prefectures.

Education for Citizenship

One aspect of the concern for adequate curricula for Japan's new schools related to effective education for citizenship. The teacher educators recognized quite clearly that democratic political machinery cannot be developed and operated without the necessary popular understanding and behavior. How this is to be accomplished in poor schools, with inadequately trained teachers normally lacking any but hasty "bookish" acquaintance with democracy, was a basic question in the minds of some. Stated bluntly, the problem did appear insuperable, however, it was possible to find here and there some examples of teachers who gave encouraging illustrations of what can be done.

School Libraries

Although this item was mentioned by only two professors, there is reason to believe several had it in mind in their comments upon equipment. Many American librarians will recognize this item in its accustomed place at the end of the list. However, there can be little doubt of the need to establish libraries in Japanese schools; the writer saw only one library for elementary children and that was

in the school attached to a well-known normal school. Even this "demonstration library" was sadly deficient in books and other media ordinarily found in libraries. Here, it may be noted again that Japan needs to develop a new literature if the program is to accomplish its objectives.

Miscellaneous Social Problems

A culture in transition has more problems than can be isolated for independent study and solution. Occupied Japan is no exception. Many problems which relate directly or indirectly to education could have been mentioned by the teacher educators with whom we worked. In our survey, a lengthy list was submitted, many of which may be recognized in other categories of this report. This section has been reserved for a list of nine items which may be termed conveniently as "miscellaneous." Here we found (a) low standards of living, (b) need for education in homemaking, (c) need for education in modern family living, (d) need to enlighten people about the new education, (e) youth problems including delinquency, and (f) difficulties of educating Japanese women to their new legal status of equality. Comment upon these problems would require more space than is available here, but it can be stated that these are valid concerns of conscientious educators in the new Japan.

Postscript

The foregoing presentation of some of the critical problems facing Japanese education is in no sense exhaustive or conclusive. Obviously, their solution will require sustained thought, the development of effective action programs, and continued effort on the part of Japanese educational leadership. Meanwhile, many articles and books will need to be written and used. If this brief treatment of the important problems as identified by a number of Japanese teacher educators serves to focus attention upon these needs, it will have served a useful purpose.

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IMPLICATIONS OF VIEWS CONCERNING THE "TYPICAL" SCHOOL TEACHER

Dorothy Rogers

A list of twenty-one adjectives was given to each of thirty-four elementary school teachers and to eighty-three college students preparing to teach in elementary school. Directions were given to underline any of the adjectives that the public might use in describing the typical school teacher. Below are given the list of adjectives, in order of frequency, as mentioned by students, by teachers, and by the two groups combined. The lists represent descending order of frequency, the adjective at the top of the list having been named most often. The results for males and females were so much alike that separate lists are not given for sex groups.

Rank	Students	Rank	Teachers	Rank	Total
1	' average in intelligence	1	' average in intelligence	1	' average in intelligence
2	conventional	2	conventional	2	conventional
3	self-reliant	3	self-reliant	3	self-reliant
4.5	unselfish	4	bossy	4.5	unselfish
4.5	cheerful	5.5	cheerful	4.5	cheerful
6	dictatorial	5.5	unselfish	6	dictatorial
7	bossy	7.5	dull	7	bossy
8	dull	7.5	dictatorial	8	dull
9	happy	11	snobbish	9	happy
10	interesting	11	gloomy	10	interesting
11	humble	11	courageous	11	humble
12	goody-goody	11	sad	12	snobbish
13.5	gloomy	11	humble	13	gloomy
13.5	snobbish	14.5	interesting	14	goody-goody
15	courageous	14.5	happy	15	courageous
16	sad	16	goody-goody	16	sad
17	brilliant	17.5	selfish	17	selfish
18	unconventional	17.5	cowardly	18.5	brilliant
19	selfish	19	unconventional	18.5	unconventional
20	daring	20.5	brilliant	20	daring
21	cowardly	20.5	daring	21	cowardly

In interpreting the table, one should remember that there might be some discrepancy between what the public

really thinks of teachers and what teachers believe they think. This difference is probably not great, because individual teachers receive daily evidence, in their many and varied dealings with the public, of how people feel about the teaching profession. In addition, the teachers questioned agreed almost exactly with the students—who were freshmen just beginning teacher training.

Although one still might question the validity of seeking the public's opinion of teachers by asking teachers themselves, there is an important reason for such an approach. The morale of teachers, their self-respect, and the kind of schools they will maintain, depends to a great extent on what they believe people think of them.

Now let us examine the data in the foregoing table to see what conclusions seem feasible.

One notes that the first eight terms are the same for students, teachers, and total group, in almost exactly the same order. One sees also that the last five terms on all lists are the same, in slightly different order. The remaining eight terms in the center vary somewhat more in exact order, but not one of them occurs in the first eight in any list, or in the lowest five.

From an analysis of specific adjectives, one may conclude pretty positively that the average student and teacher believe the public's opinion of the pedagogue an unflattering one. Examine the particular adjectives named most often as being typical of teachers. Chosen most often was "average in intelligence", a not too flattering estimate of a group whose chief concern is knowledge. If the public actually feels that teachers are merely average in intelligence, it is guilty of underestimation. The average IQ of teachers, while not in the range of brilliance, is well above the average for the general population.

Teachers are labeled as conventional. The question is: Do school teachers actually desire to behave in a more con-

ventional fashion than others, or are they merely held in restraint by the mores of the community? The teachers who are entrusted with the task of passing on the most valued features of the culture are resented if their own behavior is not an embodiment of accepted folkways and mores. It is likely that the people who enter the teaching profession *are* a conservative group, because individualists fear the regimentation imposed on teachers.

People are thought to consider teachers as self-reliant. Is the answer merely that teachers have to be self-reliant? They are not "taken in" by the community or considered completely as one of themselves. In addition, teachers must remain solvent, must look out sensibly for their own affairs, lest they incur the disfavor of the community. Furthermore, as teachers are looked on as a group apart, their activities are likely to be relatively self-sustaining.

Respondents to the questionnaire believed that teachers are considered unselfish. When surrounded daily by a large group of youngsters, whose needs constantly demand satisfaction in a thousand different ways, teachers are practically compelled to become socially conscious. As to their attitudes in civic affairs, teachers must, as servants of the community, at least be apparently unselfish, giving of their time and money.

The writer is inclined to doubt that the cheerfulness which the public ascribe to teachers goes very deep. Probably the cheerfulness is a part of the teacher's stock in trade, a part of the classroom manner. Persons who have to deal with the public to earn their daily bread learn to smile.

Sixth, teachers are thought to be bossy or dictatorial. Until recent years, teachers have been inevitably associated in people's minds with the rigid discipline which had to be preserved at any cost. The stern discipline and the due means often used in its enforcement did not mean that

teachers were by nature sadistic, however. It was merely that, under the older philosophies of education, a teacher's efficiency was measured largely in terms of how completely she could preserve complete order and obtain unquestioning obedience.

The two adjectives supposed to be least typical of school teachers are often considered completely antithetical—that is, “cowardly” and “daring”. The “in-betweenness” implied in saying that teachers are neither cowardly nor daring is all part of the picture of the teacher as a middle of the road type.

The fact that teachers are almost never described as “brilliant”, “unconventional”, “sad”, or “selfish”, has already been treated in the foregoing, when the opposites of these terms were discussed.

Now, what are the implications of this questionnaire as a whole? First, one sees clearly that the school teacher exists in people's minds as a type, possessed of certain definite traits and attributes, many of them undesirable. One notes further that this stereotype conforms more to the teacher as she was several years ago than to the teacher as she is now. It is the nature of public opinion to change more slowly than the actual state of affairs would permit.

Second, the picture that people have in their minds of school teachers is important in its effect on the general well-being of the teacher. Will the public vote for an ex-teacher to hold office? Frequently not, because teachers are deemed more visionary than practical, more plodding than brilliant. Will the public pay school teachers in accord with their training? No, not as long as teachers are willing to give of their best for so little. Remember that teachers are considered as “unselfish”. Does a teacher's self respect, as well as his pay check, suffer from the public's opinion of him? Very likely. We tend to see ourselves as others see us. We draw our consciousness of ourselves as persons largely from others' views of what they think we should be.

Next, it must be conceded that the public's picture of a profession is not a product of chance, but a natural growth. An accumulation of experiences with a group and impressions of that group, gained in the sum of our direct and indirect contacts with its constituents give rise to generalized opinions. So, whatever teachers may think of the injustice or unfairness of the public's opinion, it cannot be questioned that there is foundation for that opinion.

The logical sequence to the foregoing point is to consider how a more desirable picture may be formed. But here a dilemma presents itself. As the stereotype is of natural formation the only way to effect a change in the public's opinion of the teacher is to change the teacher. Yet the existence of such a stereotype tends to reinforce it and to limit its modification. The brilliant individualist, interested in earning as good an income as others of similar training, will shy away from joining the ranks of conventional, average-in-intelligence school teachers, unselfishly and cheerfully serving a community whose respect they do not hold.

On the other hand, one might raise a question as to the desirability of changing teachers from what they now are. The present teacher adjusts more easily to the humdrum, colorless life of the small town than would one of a more restless nature. Her non-aggressive personality is easier on small children than the dominant type of woman would be.

Probably one's opinion as to whether, or to what extent, teachers should be changed, depends on his philosophy of education. If he believes that the function of education is chiefly to acquaint children with their cultural heritage and adapt them to it, the present teacher is good. The conventional, middle of the road individual reflects the temper of the community. Without internal conflict, she can pass on

the village mores, because she accepts them without question herself

If, however, one assumes the position of some of the modern educational philosophers, that educators should be the leaders of a dynamic civilization, a new type of teacher is needed. She would have to be strong and fearless. She would need to possess insight into, and courage to attack, evils in the existing social order.

But no matter what might be the current philosophy, its limitations, in practice, will be set by the personnel of the classroom teaching profession. If the spirit of the philosophy is too much at variance with the temperament of the teacher, it encounters a hopeless bottleneck in the classroom. Consciousness of this fact indicates the futility of the popular practice of imposing educational philosophies on teachers. If an ideology is to have a chance, that type of individual must be recruited to the profession who is capable of giving it a fair trial. And since ideas in education constantly change, it is clear that the only type of teacher who remains in harmony with them, is one who is flexible and who is sensitive to changing needs and times.

In conclusion, the writer wishes to call attention to a serious obstacle to the achievement of the educational ideal of today. One of the cornerstones of current philosophy is that children must be treated as individuals, respected as individuals. But the teacher is not likely to accept the individuality of children unless she herself be so recognized. Therefore, if modern education is to achieve its goal, must we not find ways to break down the stereotype which exists in the public mind, and causes people to judge all teachers by a pattern? Is not the emergence of the child as a personality dependent on permitting the teacher to emerge as an individual?

SOCIOLOGY IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

T. Earl Sullenger Mildred Surface Rita Corcoran

In a recent survey of 1100 high schools selected at random from thirty-nine states, we found that 26% of them offered courses in Sociology either as a subject in itself or as a part of an integrated course.

Most of the teachers who taught the course gave their opinions as to its values. This, according to the majority, was the knowledge gained of current problems, of self, and of society. Many of the teachers said it helped to build good citizens and promote tolerance in the student's outlook on other groups in society. While others said that sociology gave the students a chance to speak frankly of personal problems not discussed in any other class. Many revealed the fact that the course encourages the students to analyze themselves by airing their actual problems not talked about at home. These class discussions help to develop frank and easy exchanges in answer to questions the students wish to know.

The fact was also brought out that the course seemed valuable in giving knowledge of marriage and family life. The student gets some knowledge concerning vocations and is somewhat prepared to face life. It seemed to some teachers that sociology makes the student aware of society's problems and develops a responsibility toward their solution in both his community and society at large.

As the table shows, the outstanding value of sociology according to our survey is giving the student a better knowledge of himself and society. Ninety-nine per cent of the teachers stated a definite value in the course, while 1 per cent spoke of the value as negligible. It was simply a course taken for another credit.

The following table shows the leading values of sociology according to our survey:

<i>VALUES</i>	<i>NUMBER OF TIMES EXPRESSED</i>
Better knowledge of current problems	
society and general broadening of viewpoint	81
Understanding social problems and human relations	76
Development of tolerance	29
Training for citizenship	27
Social adjustment	24
Knowledge of marriage and vocations	20
Teaches responsibility	11
Creates objective thinking	11

This makes it appear that sociology is being taught by a majority of teachers who believe it is worthwhile. Many teachers in schools where the course is not taught feel that the students are missing many values that the course has to offer. Two or three teachers spoke of it as a "must" course.

We wish to cite a few typical remarks by the teachers concerning the value of the course.

"The students say it's their best subject because it's practical."

"Arouses an interest in social problems. Quite a number go to college and major in Sociology."

"I feel that the students develop a better understanding of problems in general in the field of human relationships."

"Awareness of social problems; awareness that man can improve society within certain limitations, appreciation for the American way of life."

"My aim is to make my students socially conscious and in that I think I am being successful. My students are more tolerant and have a much better general knowledge of the 'whys'."

"It is a good course for high school students, in view of the fact that such a large per cent of them never avail themselves of such training otherwise. In my mind it is

a 'must' for well developed and well balanced personalities "

"Preparation for marriage in terms of the understanding of the family importance. It's tie up with one's personality. A desire to do a better job than past generations. A world point of view."

"I think it is the best subject in school to teach understanding of society, tolerance and interest in helping make a better world "

"Opportunity to discuss personal or group and family problems avoided or skipped in other classes."

"Teen agers want to know about themselves and how to meet modern situations."

"Students express the feeling that it is the best course given in high school and should be required of all seniors "

"Better social adjustments are made by those who take the course, generally."

"It involves things which the student will undoubtedly contact after leaving high school."

"Giving the students a closer viewpoint of their own community and its social problems "

"Many students admit they enroll to gain the half-year credit, but at the end of the semester they find they have revised their thinking, viewpoints, and selfish opinion to become more alert to current problems, and tolerance toward others' opinions. A total outcome has been most satisfactory "

"Graduates of this course bring up for discussion in later course some of the latest developments concerning social problems. Graduates of the school never forget this course."

"I believe sociology should be a 'must' in every high school curriculum. A true knowledge of social problems is necessary to high school students. True, it is offered in college, but for those who never attend college, I firmly believe it should be given in the high school "

"I feel that teaching sociology on the secondary level is very important, primarily because 90 per cent of our secondary population does not go to college where it is made available, and thus are never given an organized approach to the study of social problems."

"Many students speak to me about the understanding they have gained about themselves and society. They are happier."

In our opinion these values, as expressed by the teachers, seem to warrant the teaching of sociology on the secondary level.

Methods of teaching sociology vary according to the personality of the teacher, the size of the class, the type of community, the books and references available, the mechanical devices at hand, and the time allowed for the course.

It was found that most of the schools used a text book supplemented with books and magazines for references. A few of the schools use workbooks. Community projects, desired by most teachers, seemed to demand more time than that allotted for the teaching of the subject. Also, teachers seemed to lack the plans necessary for such activities. They asked for definite suggestions on community projects. Field trips, while much desired, seemed to be out of the question for those living in remote or rural areas. Even those who are in the vicinity of laboratory experiments of field work are not given the time to make such trips. Moving pictures were of value to those who have the equipment. Most of the schools take advantage of outside speakers where such talent is available. In the smaller communities such help is hard to secure.

In relation to class room work the most common practice is discussion. By far the majority of teachers veer away from the lecture method except to introduce a new unit or supplement the text material. The term paper report or the oral one for daily class work was a common method for those schools having ample library facilities.

The popularity of the course seemed directly related to the instructor. Where the teacher was trained in her field and enthusiastic about its value, the course automatically registered popularity with the students.

About 40 per cent (142) answered that the course was popular, a few cases very popular. Ten answered that the course was not popular but only served as another credit. Some teachers hesitated to express their opinions since they felt the popularity depended on the teacher and the answer involved too much subjectivity. The fact that the course in most of the schools surveyed is given as an elective helps to determine its status of popularity. One high school where the course is elective claimed that 40 or 45 per cent of the seniors elect the course. Others mentioned that they could not accommodate all of those who wished to take the study.

The following table shows the classification in the schools of those studying sociology:

<i>CLASSIFICATION</i>	<i>NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS</i>
Sophomores	7
Juniors	95
Seniors	255

It is quite definitely a senior course. Only in the smaller schools is it offered to under class students. Where the number of subjects are limited, the juniors take the course with the seniors.

The length of time given to the course varied from one-third to two semesters. In the problems course, where sociology plays a minor part, only six weeks is given to its presentation, if the course is one semester.

Teachers of sixteen schools expressed a desire for a two-semester course in sociology. Five teachers definitely stated that one semester was not enough time but made no suggestion as to the length of time desired. Many complained that a forty-five minute class period was too short.

to accomplish many of their objectives. There was also an element of complaint on the part of some concerning the teacher load, which prevented careful preparation and consideration necessary for class room teaching.

Conclusion

After a careful examination of the 550 questionnaires supplied by the high school teachers of sociology, we wish to summarize our findings as follows:

We found definite trends for the integration of sociology into the course of Modern Problems. Eighty-one schools in our survey offer sociology through the "Integrated Problems" course. In 261 high schools, sociology was offered independently. The remaining 206 schools of the 550 did not offer either sociology or the problems course. Only in economics, government, homemaking, vocations and orientation courses are sociological units introduced.

The state of Oregon requires a semester of sociology, as such, of all seniors. Minnesota requires a year's course in American problems. Thirteen schools, in various states, stated that they required all seniors to take at least one semester of sociology. In comparison with earlier surveys, it seems that there is an increase in the interest and the number of schools offering sociology.

The high school students seem to crave knowledge on choosing a mate and building a home. Two instructors suggested the teaching of sex education in the course.

Trained teachers in the field of sociology revealed that the course is valuable in building for citizenship and in helping to prepare students to face their life problems.

The chief needs in most of the high schools were new texts, reference material, visual aids.

There is a definite trend in our findings for the desire to use visual aids, to conduct community projects and to develop the use of research on the high school level. The teachers indicate the desire to help the student analyze him-

self and discuss the problems of the community and society at large. According to one instructor, "the emphasis should be placed on normal living rather than pathological conditions." That seems to be the trend in the teaching of sociology.

There is a demand for material on family life and marriage and its problems, more time and better trained teachers.

The fact that several texts have been revised in 1947 and 1948 shows that the demand for text material is being somewhat answered.

With the new texts, the apparent growing popularity, and the known values of social training and social adjustment of the subject, we feel that the course of sociology may come into its own, either as a subject of its own, through related courses as the study of family and marriage or through the enlargement of sociological units in the problem course.

We wish to close our narrative by the use of several quotations which bear our sentiments in relation to the teaching of sociology in high schools. As a greater number of teachers catch the insight of the teachers quoted here, we have hopes for a growth in the field.

"It is my hope that students will be cognizant of barriers to progress and interested in surmounting these barriers."

"We must adjust the economic order, so that people all over the world will be well fed. Hunger decreases and discourages culture and encourages wars and hatreds."

"Unless our social order advances along without knowledge of physical science, the very things that go to make up a better way of life may be our undoing."

As sociology teachers catch these visions, the youth will be insured against war, and society will be secure in peace.

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BOOK REVIEWS

American Social Insurance, by Domenico Gagliardo
New York Harper, 1949

Readings in Social Security, by William Haber and Wilbur J. Cohen
New York. Prentice-Hall, 1948

The American Social Security System, by Evaline M. Burns
New York. Houghton-Mifflin, 1949

An inspection of a handful of college catalogs reveals certain few courses being "kicked around" between two or possibly more academic departments with little indication at this time as to eventual settlement. For a long time Social Psychology has been an offering of psychology as well as sociology departments. Propaganda and Public Opinion courses seem to oscillate between departments of sociology and political science. Housing is more strongly allied with economics people, but is by no means overlooked by the sociology fraternity. And now comes Social Insurance.

It is the most natural thing for social insurance to have attracted to its fold economists, sociologists, and social workers. This is a healthy academic phenomenon. It is interesting to note, moreover, that the frames of reference of each of these disciplines are not too distinguishable in their general approach to the subject. This, too, should not strike us as alarming. Individually, of course, each of the disciplines has its specific interests and in examining delimited studies, one readily becomes aware of this.

The three books under review, however, are general treatments of the subject, although one of the books (Burns) limits itself more to social security, *per se*, whereas the other two studies attempt to give coverage to the broader field of social insurance.

The objectives of each book reveal themselves through the following quotations extracted from the authors' prefatory remarks:

Gagliardo (Professor of economics, University of Kansas)
". in this book I have for the most part been concerned with a description—in simple terms and to a limited extent—of what we have, how we got it, and what the results have been" (p. xxii)

Haber & Cohen (Professor of economics, University of Michigan, and Technical Advisor, Federal Security Agency, respectively) "This compilation of readings is intended to fill the gap for persons who want to know the back-

ground, philosophy, and current developments of social security and wish to find sources for more detailed study of particular aspects of the topic . . . it can be used by the student, teacher, legislator, and management or labor executive . . . " (pp iii-iv)

Burns (Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University) "My major object . . . is to depict the main characteristics of the various social security programs currently in operation in the United States, the differences among them and their relationships to each other" (pp v-vi)

All three books are interesting, meaningful, and altogether very satisfactory reading. This reviewer wishes he had been able to obtain such a triad, when, as Labor Officer with the Allied Military Government in Germany, he was assigned the mission of reconstituting the social insurance system in Upper Bavaria, and on very short notice needed to provide text materials to subordinate personnel. The very few pages that the Military Manual provided on the subject were hardly adequate. The Erlangen University Library, intact throughout the war, brought forth a 1939 compilation of the nation's social insurance laws (*Reichsversicherungs Ordnung*). Beyond this there was little more to work with. And this in a country steeped in the tradition of the institution of social insurance. It might be noted here that all three books under review show up very markedly the underdevelopment of social insurance in America as compared with the more inclusive social security systems of Social Democratic Germany.

It is interesting to note the attention given to the Brookings study (which is against a Federal compulsory health insurance system at the present time) by both the Burns and Gagliardo texts. Both these latter books post-date the Brookings report. Professor Burns devotes less than half a dozen pages to the subject of health insurance, and refers to the Brookings study in a few vague, possibly even misleading footnote references. Professor Gagliardo devotes two full chapters (65 pages) to the subject of federal health insurance. The case made by the Brookings people is briefly but very adequately reported.

Both the Burns and Gagliardo texts can boast good tables of contents, a generous array of interesting and meaningful tables and good indices. The Gagliardo text further supplies us with a very helpful up-to-date compilation of selected references.

THEODORE I. LENN

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol. 23

May 1950

No. 9

FOREWORD

Earl C. Kelley

There are few in American education, teacher or administrator, who would not agree on certain values as worthy purposes for education. We would all agree that we want people to learn how to live in a democracy, to assume responsibility, and to develop into good citizens.

We have accepted democracy as our way of life. We are surer than ever, now, that this is the way we want to live. Our republic was founded on the tenets of democracy, but we know now better than we have ever known how important it is to preserve democracy. We know this because of what we have seen in human degradation in the functioning of totalitarian governments during the past twenty years.

We want to teach our youth responsibility because democracy will perish unless someone assumes responsibility for it. That "someone" must be the younger generation. It is much more difficult now to teach young people responsibility than it formerly was, because most of our homes are now urban. The urban home lacks the opportunities for youth to assume responsibilities which used to be so common in the rural home. The burden has thus shifted from the home to the school.

We want our young people to be good citizens because if they are not, our democracy, our economy, and even our safety will be in jeopardy.

Most of us, but probably not all of us, would agree that the best way to teach these values is to give young people a chance to practise them. We learn democracy by living democratically. We learn to assume responsibility by having some to assume. We learn citizenship by being functioning citizens.

We have a difficult time in our schools in devising experiences which will provide these opportunities in a functional way. We could do more than we do, but the very nature of the institution sets difficulties and limitations.

Our schools are often built on very limited space, in crowded urban centers. What little spaces there are usually have "Keep off the grass" signs on them. The buildings themselves, except the most modern ones, are built to turn attention inward, so that youth will not be diverted from their books. The windows are built high purposely, so that children can be kept unaware of the world all about them.

Our schools are too crowded. We need twice as many rooms and teachers as we now have in this country if we are to be able to do the job we now know we should do. It is possible to live democratically to a degree in any situation, but the larger the classes and the more crowded the classrooms the more difficult it becomes.

The children are with us only thirty hours out of one hundred sixty-eight each week. Many of the opportunities for assuming responsibility naturally lie outside that time. The problems of preparing food, washing dishes, sleeping, recreation, fall mostly outside our thirty hours.

Then we have our own selves to contend with. Most of us were reared in the autocratic tradition, and ourselves lack skill in democratic techniques of living with others. We have inherited a curriculum which no longer serves us in meeting our new demands, but we are habituated to it, and feel insecure out of it. Some of us have developed an unreasoned idolatry toward it. This all adds up to an arthritic condition above the neck, which hampers and reduces our

mobility in the face of changing needs and conditions

The school camping movement offers us an opportunity to teach democracy, responsibility and citizenship in the best setting which has so far been devised. The young people are in a camp situation on school time, under the guidance of teachers, and therefore it is an integral part of the curriculum. Here children have an opportunity *to do useful things together*. They do their own planning, make their own rules, share in the necessary work, and play together. Each individual has to make his own way with his peers. Each has to meet his obligations and responsibilities if he is to retain his status. For what he shirks, his peers will have to do.

Recently I visited a camp in Michigan where about one hundred high school boys and girls were spending a week. I accompanied one of the groups as it went about its day's business. In the forenoon we planted trees under the guidance of conservation officials. In the afternoon we did a project in fish conservation. At noon we ate lunch together. I saw young people working together in complete harmony. There was sharing of duties and responsibilities. We sat together at the close of the day for an evaluation session, where the young people discussed what they had seen and done, and talked about how well each had done his part. I saw no misconduct, and no shirking. One of the best parts of it was the complete delight of the teachers present. This was teaching as it might be, and they were thrilled with their work. The relations between the teachers and students were such as I have seldom seen in a school.

This was a natural functioning of democracy, under genuine conditions. Rights and responsibilities go hand in hand, without arbiter. To plant a tree is a worthy task, for a tree is an addition to the good earth, but far more valuable than the growth of the tree is the growth of the youth who co-operatively do the planting.

School camping, if we can do enough of it, may be an answer to the youth problem. We might not have so many

delinquents if we had sufficient opportunity for youth to engage in wholesome work, where they can learn to value their status with others.

During the thirties, when we thought we had no money, we built many camps, and transported our youth hundreds of miles as an answer to the youth problem, which, partly because of the shortcomings of our schools, was very acute. It seems logical, in better times, to furnish this opportunity near home, and in the hands of the people best qualified to guide the learning experiences into educative channels.

We who work in schools and who are responsible for the quality of living available to our youth should hail this movement. We should make every effort our strength allows to further and augment it. We should see it as curriculum, with values almost inaccessible to the teacher and students in a classroom. We should work hard at it now, to gain the facilities, skills, and public confidence needed when other methods of educating our youth will be proposed. We have much to do, and we may have little time.

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WHY A SCHOOL CAMPING PROGRAM

Jay B. Nash

The hopes of all democracy rest on a program of education designed to develop healthy, vocationally and recreationally skillful and self-disciplined individuals who go out to meet life with some degree of scintillation and enthusiasm.

History has placed education on a pedestal. The educated man was a performer, a doer; in fact he was an artist. The good citizen was one who could achieve in philosophy, music, architecture, drama, arts and crafts or in throwing the discus. To be educated, in reality to be good, one must ap-

proach perfection in performance. Education was a doing process and was for use

The men who laid the foundation for democracy placed their hopes on universal education. Horace Mann and Benjamin Franklin predicted an enlightened, enthusiastic citizenry in which crime and delinquency would be eliminated when all men could read and write. With these tools man could dig into the educational treasures of the past and become a useful, happy citizen

The democratic-educational train jumped the track somewhere along the line. Perhaps it was weighted down with mere numbers; perhaps educational objectives were interpreted in terms of the professions and the white-collar class; perhaps college entrance requirements were the road block; perhaps the means of education were confused with its outcomes in full living; perhaps the teachers lost faith or just got tired. At any rate, in the minds of too many, education became synonymous with that which went on in the school room and with poor teaching—the *I tell you—you tell me* method. Too many teachers and parents call this kind of education “sticking to fundamentals” and they are the ones who resist to the death what they term the frills of education—music, drama, industrial arts, home economics, health and physical education. They contend that this type of education means “training the mind” as opposed to that which makes use of forums, audio-visual aids, self-government, vocational guidance and recreation.

This type of education leaves the masses, victims of the worst phases of modern society. Those who resist crime turn to the radio, motion pictures, television and spectator sports. We are in the gladiatorial epic of Rome, ripe for a fall, not from enemies without but from an unmotivated, unskilled, bored disillusioned citizenry. If education cannot meet this crisis, no other social agency can be expected to fill the gap.

With few exceptions children are being crowded into a college preparatory program; yet out of our sixty million

workers only about six per cent will find positions in the professional or even the semi-professional group and about half of these are teachers, nurses and hospital workers. Almost fifty per cent of the entering high school group drop out before graduation day because of boredom, frustration and a complete lack of interest. Any kind of work seems more attractive to these drop outs than does the free education provided by the community at tremendous sacrifice. What would Jefferson and Lincoln have thought of our *compulsory education*?

School camping represents one of the most hopeful signs of the day. It offers an opportunity for children to get out of the classroom and to place their feet firmly on the earth. It exposes them to a whole cross section of educational resources about which many school books are written. The roots of the camping movement go far back into history. A Greek philosopher suggested a vacation period for the children so that they might acquire some education. David Starr Jordan sent his pupils to study, "grasshopper," rather than to read about it in books. Grundtvig, the Danish poet, statesman and divine, shocked the traditional society in the Scandinavian countries in the eighteenth century by urging the establishment of Folk Schools and Peoples Colleges and incurred the disfavor of the church and the school. The whole Folk School movement was "a learning for living" which laid the foundation for the cooperative movement.

The Day Camp. The day camp, a continuation of the summer playground, offers opportunities for field trips, excursions and outings to thousands of children who could not otherwise leave the crowded city areas for the summer. Visits can be made to historical sites, industrial plants, civic projects and county and state parks. Programs planned with the children will widen the interest range of each and every boy and girl. The day camp can be made to contribute to an education that is real.

The Summer Camp. The summer vacation period is a pattern of rural life — a time when children could help on

the farm. With the growth of the city and the passing of meaningful summer school vacations the private camp developed for the well-to-do, and fresh air camps were organized for the poor. Now on a pattern which has already become familiar, the school-community camp as an instrument of democracy offers camping opportunities for all, regardless of race, religion, creed, social or economic status. *The Elementary School Resident Camp* The year-round school community camp represents a sharp point of departure from former school or camp procedures. It recognizes that some learning experiences in the school curriculum can best be carried on in the out-of-doors, particularly the camp. This great laboratory was here before schools and, today, school books are written about it. Why not let the children experience it firsthand? This type of camp gives the teacher and children an opportunity to move out into the open and to learn from doing. Experiences in camp do not usually include formalized exercises in spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic but they will definitely motivate the "3 R," processes. The advantages of the year-round camp are numerous — children and teachers have a chance to know each other better. There is an opportunity for group living. There is an opportunity to acquire experience. Years ago

Luther Burbank remarked "Every child should have mud pies, grasshoppers, water-bugs, tadpoles, frogs, mud-turtles, elderberries, wild strawberries, acorns, chestnuts, trees to climb, brooks to wade in, water-lilies, woodchucks, bats, bees, butterflies, various animals to pet, hay fields, pine cones, rocks to roll, sand, snakes, huckleberries and hornets, and any child who has been deprived of these has been deprived of the best part of his education."

The teacher must occupy a central position in the school camp program. She is the one who motivates the camp experience through classroom procedures before the group goes out into the open. She occupies a key personal relationship position in the camp and relates the camp experience to a whole cross section of the school curriculum on the return

to the classroom. She literally becomes the "Mark Hopkins on one end of a log." Teachers are human as well as children. Camp experience is the time for both of them to find that out.

The Older Youth Camp Camping for older youth — boys and girls together reflects in a sense the climax of camping philosophy. Here is living with all of the problems which confront youth. Here is a chance to experiment, to develop camaraderie, to help in programs of conservation and to build an appreciation of, a loyalty for, and a devotion to the nation which offers to each individual freedom and all of the fullness of living.

It was my privilege, along with a number of others, to visit one of these older youth camps. We planted trees with them, assisted in erosion control measures, learned how to fight a forest fire, and how to make an inventory of game and fish in the streams and lakes. We identified various types of trees, shrubs and flowers. We had a chance to watch these young people in self-disciplinary measures — how should the swimming program be controlled, what about the problems of rest and sleep, who, if any, should have an opportunity to smoke and how are various boy-girl relationships to be worked out. The way the young people attacked these problems gave one confidence in the youth of the nation if they are given a chance to help in the planning. If this is not education for what is real then I do not know the answer.

The Conservation Experience Camp Some of the most valuable lessons learned from the days of the depression came out of the N. Y. A. and the C. C. C. programs. The benefits of these programs can be achieved through local administration with the possibilities of financial help from the National Park Service, National Forest Service and state and county parks. The natural resources of the nation are being depleted rapidly. With the cutting of forests, the winds and the rain are carrying away the top soil causing dangerous floods on the one hand and a depletion of humus

on the other. Millions of trees need to be planted and thousands of acres of land need to be wrested from the grip of erosion. The youth of America are ready to volunteer their services to make their country "not less but more beautiful than they found it." The outcomes of such experience will give valuable returns in health, recreation, conservation and loyalty to the nation.

International Youth Hosteling One hope for peace and international understanding rests in the furnishing of opportunities to the youth of all nations to mingle with each other. The hopes, the ambitions and beliefs in the simple fundamental principles of human relationships are similar in all countries. If thousands of young people from all countries could visit each other and feel the touch of friendship, the world would move a few steps toward peace.

Important School Camp Objectives. The school-community camp offers opportunities for youth to widen his experience, to motivate classroom procedure, to build vigorous body health, to experience the thrill of accomplishment and to lay down the basis for many recreational habits which will enrich later life.

Recreation is an important outcome. If the community is to offset the tempting offers of commercial recreation, people must have other types of activity in which to experience greater thrills of accomplishment. Recreation is an important outcome of school camping *but it is not enough*

Camping experiences offer opportunities to contact science at its source. Children have a chance to experiment with plants and animals through hikes and on work projects. There are opportunities to study the stars, to learn some of the trees and wild flowers, to develop museums and nature trails, to use a shovel, axe or a compass. Familiarity with science is an important outcome of camping *but it, alone, is not enough*

Conservation of natural resources becomes a must in the nation. Trees need to be planted, vegetation must be protected from fire, soil must be replaced through conservation

measures and individuals must develop a profound respect for the earth which nourishes them. Conservation is important in school camping *but it, alone, is not enough.*

It is important to have a good time — just plain ordinary fun and enjoyment are objectives of education. They are fundamental to health and to behavior. Fun is an important part of the school camp *but it is not enough.*

A motivation of the year-round school program through camp experience is important. It can furnish topics for forum discussions and written material. It can add meaning to science, history and geography. All this is valuable, *but not enough.*

All important and above all other contributions, the school-community camp can and does offer opportunities *to develop a social sense of belonging.*

A clear distinction must be kept in mind always between means and outcomes. Totalitarian countries furnished camping experiences in abundance and through them developed a sense of loyalty to the nation and enthusiasm for the group. Unless school camps are able to focus their programs on the democratic ideals of the equality and the rights of all men, an empty form of procedure or even the correct form of procedure with a destructive result may emerge. The significance of the outcome, therefore, must take precedence over the procedure or, young people will cry out "Mirage."

There is a world struggle going on between ideas. Great giants representing the East and West are facing each other, each defending its concept of social organization. This nation, believes in a controlled freedom; that freedom assumes obedience to self-imposed law and that man is capable of formulating laws. It is believed that the great majority of mankind is willing to abide conscientiously by laws once they are formulated. This nation is dedicated to developing the dignity of the individual.

The school-community camp movement must make its contribution to democratic ideals if it is to fulfill the ambitions of its planners and the hopes of educational leaders

Results, to date, are sufficiently encouraging to give hope that a new educational day is dawning.

Youth needs a sense of belonging — a chance through significant challenges to shoulder responsibilities and to practice democracy. There must be developed in all citizens a deep faith in, a loyalty for, and a devotion to, the fundamental principles of democracy.

Evidence is accumulating throughout history down through the formative days of the nation that loyalty and devotion to ideals are built through service. That for which he serves and sacrifices, one is willing to live for and defend with his life.

Society has a responsibility to assist youth to find significant challenges through which it may gain self-respect, confidence and approval of the group. In this way a sense of belonging and a sense of responsibility may be acquired.

It is firmly believed that the school-community camp with its emphasis on significant work experiences for high school youth, boys and girls, and on knowing the out-of-doors and living together for the younger children, offers one of the highly desirable ways to accomplish conservation results needed for the preservation of the nation. At the same time, it will broaden the experience range of the total educative process; vitalize the school programs and will tie youth to the democratic group in which he lives. The school-community camp program represents a natural and desirable extension of the school curriculum. It is education.

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THE MICHIGAN STORY OF CAMPING AND OUTDOOR EDUCATION

Julian W. Smith

The Beginning

No one can say just when school camping had its beginnings in Michigan. For a long time occasional school classes and clubs have used the outdoors as a laboratory or for recreational ventures, with short camping trips now and then. The increasing popularity of private and agency camps with a growing public consciousness that all children, regardless of economic or social status, should have a camping experience may have helped to alert schools to the need for camping and outdoor recreation. The greatest influence, however, appears to have come from within the school itself—the search for an experimental curriculum—a child-centered program.

In 1931, the teachers and parents of the Tappan Junior High School, Ann Arbor, began the development of a camp and initiated a program of occasional trips for junior high school students. About the same time, the Cadillac Board of Education acquired a camp and operated a program during the summer for boys and girls of elementary school age. Even before that time, some other cities like Melvindale had developed summer camping programs largely through the efforts of service clubs, but with the leadership of the schools.

In the middle thirties, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation built three camps for use in an experimental health program for children. After completion of these experiments, the Foundation made the Clear Lake Camp and staff available to three schools: Lakeview (Battle Creek), Decatur, and Otsego for a year-round school camp. This was undoubtedly the first extensive program on a year-round basis with camping as an integral part of the curriculum of the participating schools. It was the leadership of Hugh B. Masters

of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation that was responsible for this significant concept and program of school camping. More recent programs in San Diego and Long Beach, California reflect the pattern and influence of the early school camping ventures at the Clear Lake Camp. After the interruption of the war, a year-round camping program has been conducted by Battle Creek and other schools of the area. This program has been in existence since 1944.

State Leadership

The most unique aspect of the school camping and outdoor education program in Michigan has been the teamwork of departments and agencies, particularly the State Departments of Public Instruction and Conservation. For some years these two departments cooperated in giving leadership to schools in stressing conservation in the classroom. It was the unfolding program of camping and outdoor education which offered greater opportunities for new and direct learning experiences in the out of doors, including conservation, that joined the Michigan Departments of Public Instruction and Conservation in team action.

In 1945 the Michigan Legislature enacted a law enabling school districts to acquire camps and operate them as a part of the regular school program, thus giving official sanction and encouragement to schools by state government to explore another new frontier in education.

In 1946 the Michigan Department of Public Instruction and the Department of Conservation, in cooperation with the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, joined in a camping and outdoor education project to discover how education in the out of doors could be brought about and how it would involve the natural resources and facilities already available. The project gathered great momentum stimulating the rapid development of local school programs as well as redirecting the activities and resources of the two departments involved. There were joint meetings of staffs, membership on committees, joint participation in conferences, meetings,

and a coordination of field activities that produced many results. Materials and publications were done together. In many instances, staff members from the two departments would travel together in the same car in giving field service to communities and schools that were interested in developing camping, outdoor education, and recreation programs. Many new day camping programs were established on state lands. School camping programs were initiated in state parks and group camps, and a wide variety of outdoor activities were carried out in many communities.

In May of 1948, a conference in Washington, D. C., made up of representatives to the U. S. Office of Education, the National Education Association, the American Association of School Administrators, the Chief State School Officers, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, the American Council on Education, the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, and other groups recommended:

1. That public schools should provide opportunity for camping experience for all youth as a part of the educational program.
2. That the State of Michigan immediately set up demonstration research projects in camping for older youth in order to acquire data and facts about the program and operation of such camps and provide for observation by leaders from other states and the general public.

Michigan accepted the challenge and in the fall of 1948 the two departments, in cooperation with the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, undertook an experiment in older youth camping which resulted in a series of high school camps held throughout the state. Many of these camps were held in state-owned conservation group camps located in large land areas rich in potential conservation experiences. The camping program for high school youth was a logical step for Michigan, but was made more urgent and dramatic by the increasing demands for better training in citizenship for

democratic living to meet national and world needs. Recalling the C.C.C. and N.Y.A. of the thirties and viewing the pressure for U.M.T., Michigan educators felt that education must come forth with new plans to meet the educational needs of youth — one of which would be a camping program for secondary schools that would provide experience in social living, purposeful work, conservation, healthful living, recreational living, and a variety of other outdoor education experiences that would relate to the classroom learnings.

During the next year the number of secondary schools providing a camping experience increased from a mere handful to nearly fifty. In 1949 the Michigan Legislature further encouraged experimentation in school camping by providing in the state aid bill a sum of \$10,000 to reimburse schools that provided work experience in camps.

In September, 1949 the Michigan Department of Public Instruction, in cooperation with the Department of Conservation and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, invited a group of distinguished leaders in education, conservation, government, and other walks of life to a national conference on community school camping. After seeing and hearing about the community school camping program under way in Michigan, the conference viewed the unfolding program in the nation as a new social invention in education and a partial answer to (1) problems of youth; (2) the wise use and conservation of natural resources; (3) vitalizing educational content and method, and (4) the cooperation of many agencies concerned with youth and resources.

Camping and Outdoor Education Patterns

Out-of-classroom education takes many forms, varying from short field trips and day camps to resident camping of a week or more. This is as it should be so as to meet the needs and conditions as they exist in local communities and thus make it possible for every school to use the out of doors in the learning process. The general pattern in Michigan is

for children and their teachers to go to camp together usually on school time. However, there are some excellent school camps operated by boards of education during the summer months. The experiences, real and direct, are those that are often impossible to achieve in the classroom but which have application for many of the regular curriculum activities. The general areas of education to which the camp makes a significant contribution are: (1) social living, (2) healthful living, (3) purposeful work experiences; (4) recreational living; and (5) outdoor education activities.

With the exception of the Clear Lake Camp operated by the Battle Creek Public Schools, which is in session on a year-round basis, schools do not have central camp staffs. The school administrator usually selects one or more teachers as camp leaders who give direction to activities and organization and carry on in-service programs for other teachers that participate in the school camping program. School groups move in and out of camp in a manner that fits best into the local school curriculum. More teachers are needed in camp than in the regular classroom procedure, but to date boards of education have been willing to hire substitute teachers to replace those who go to camp. Experience indicates that two teachers are needed for a group of average classroom size, in addition to one or more persons to assist in food preparation and general camp maintenance.

The issue of teacher training is an important one and colleges and universities are already responding to meet the needs. The primary requisite of a good camp program is, as in other phases of school curriculum, a good teacher. It is believed that pre-service and in-service training will enable teachers to take their places in the informal out-of-classroom activities such as camping. The major points of emphasis in teacher education are: (1) the understanding of child growth and development; (2) the process of democratic living, and (3) the best use of the natural environment in the educational process. Schools and colleges in Michigan are already providing opportunities for teachers

to have experience in camp situations. In some instances, a teacher education institution has acquired its own camp for continuous use in a variety of training activities. A number of Michigan teachers have had training in National Camp under the leadership of L. B. Sharp. Others have found excellent opportunities for training in other colleges and universities such as New York University, Indiana University, and others. Several of the teacher education institutions make it possible for student teachers to participate in a school camp program, while others send classes in child growth and development, educational psychology, science, and similar activities to observe children in a camp. Schools follow a variety of patterns in conducting a camping program. Often times elementary grades are chosen, usually the fifth or sixth year. In the secondary school camps, a home-room or core class may be the unit selected, while in other instances the group may be a cross section of the high school, a subject matter class, or all or part of a grade ranging from the seventh to the twelfth year.

School administrators, teachers, parents, and students plan together for the camping experience. At camp, the planning is done by campers and teachers with many responsibilities for the program and operation in the hands of students. They select their activities for the week and participate in planning and evaluation sessions each day. Resource leaders in conservation, health, and other fields assist in making the camp experience unique in using the camp and natural environment for many new and thrilling activities. Experiences in reforestation, timber management, soil erosion prevention, trail building, game and fish management, exploration of wooded areas, park improvement, fire fighting, and a variety of other land improvement activities illustrate a new and functional kind of community school education.

To date schools have been using existing facilities and resources, mostly conservation group camps in parks and recreation areas. Others lease private or agency camps and in

a few cases school districts have acquired or are developing their own facilities. Camping in education is finding its support in regular tax channels. The following principles are basic in the Michigan program:

1. The family should assume the cost of food of students while at camp, the same as is done when they are in school. The home should keep its right to assume the responsibility for maintenance of its members

2. The boards of education should assume the cost of instruction, as always has been done in public education. In camping, like other aspects of the school program, the board of education should, in turn, keep its right to provide instruction for youth.

3. For those families that are unable financially to assume the cost of food for children at camp, the regular constituted social agency that normally takes care of them at home should assume the responsibility at camp. Frequently, local service clubs and organizations that believe in the camping program provide funds so that no boy or girl will be denied a camping experience because of financial reasons.

4. Camps and other facilities should be provided by the school district or other appropriate governmental units such as the state or county. Inasmuch as the camp is considered part of the school plant, the board of education should assume any cost in making facilities available for the camping program.

One of the most significant examples of organization and finance of camping is in Iron County in Michigan's northern peninsula. In this instance, schools of the county use a county camp with leadership given by the county board of education and a fraction of a mill is set aside for support of the program. In Dearborn, Ann Arbor, Highland Park, and others, the board of education makes a special appropriation in its school budget to care for the camp costs above the regular budgetary items. In each case, a school district is responsible for instruction and the homes provide the cost of food and maintenance of children at camp.

View of the Future

Camping and other forms of outdoor education represent a significant development in education. The program involves the use of the out of doors as an experiential curriculum in which some of the unmet needs of children and youth can be fulfilled. It is basic learning — by doing and seeing. Camping and outdoor education takes youth back to the land where, in the presence of natural resources, the learner finds his place in natural interrelationships. Camping belongs to the whole community school — it is a part of general education. It will grow and find increased support as the public sees the results. Facilities will be developed by state and local communities and public policies will be adjusted to make the best use of lands and resources for the best use by all the people.

The goal for camping and outdoor education in Michigan is for every child to have a week or more of camping as a part of public education. As this is achieved, children and youth will find new and thrilling adventures in learning — trees will grow on hillsides, soil, game, and fish will be protected as boys and girls return service to their community and to the state. This is school camping as the mid century finds it — it may be the great youth movement of the day — the new conservation of human and natural resources — the expression of a living and militant democracy.

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CONSERVATION AS AN OBJECTIVE IN OUTDOOR EDUCATION

P. J. Hoffmaster

Barbara is a spirited teacher with some years of experience and some modern ideas about a teacher's job. Slight, a bit "shortish," with a pretty face, she's a "big wheel" in the school camp.

She told me about some of the many changes she has observed in pupils who have been in camp. The change in one such pupil stands out.

Luke was a country lad, tall for his age, not too neat or well groomed, retiring. His class work was below average, he didn't respond too well, and he was on the outside of student activities generally until he went to camp.

There were some 65 pupils in the camp, and among their many activities was the cutting down and removal of a 10-inch elm tree. After much jabbering and trying on the part of others, Luke was given a chance. He had swung an axe and pulled a saw on the farm. He took the double-bitted axe, hefted it, and in a short time the tree was down, limbs cut off, and Luke had his city mates on the ends of a crosscut saw.

That night while reciting and evaluating their experiences, Luke came in for a full and overflowing share of praise and appreciation from his mates. He had proved that he was superior in one thing, and he was admired. Now his hair is groomed, he is in the thick of things, his class work is improved, and he is much unlike the pre-camp boy.

Barbara and I agree that Luke had gained new understanding of his own worth; his fellow students had learned how tough and stubborn a tree can be, had learned also that for one with experience a tree can be quite manageable.

I wonder if all Nature isn't as difficult to understand as the elm was tough. Without some contact, it must be. Without some contact there can be little or no appreciation of the

outdoors and of the innumerable things and conditions that make up the outdoors.

For years, we, whose business is to enforce or promote conservation laws and principles, have seen the need of a much greater understanding of Nature on the part of people — adult and youth alike. Long since we have learned that hunters and fishermen cannot be coerced into complying with law, or into exercising ordinary woods and waters manners, by and through policemen, alone, regardless of the officers' efficiency and adroitness. We think it is demonstrable that law abidance and the niceties of sportsmanship must come from within. The motivating force that will cause people to use rubbish containers, rather than to throw rubbish wherever they happen to be, lies not in the park managers and their aides. It must be a part of the park user.

A group of boys in a camp were sloppy and reckless. One Sunday morning after a hot Saturday they were asked to help clean up a beach and picnic grounds. There were quantities of rubbish and they didn't finish the job, but their campgrounds were much cleaner thereafter. I cannot explain why people, many of whom are adults, will throw on the ground, beaches, and floors of park buildings, upwards of 5,000 tons of rubbish a year. The parks belong to them. At home, rubbish is burned or hauled away. I firmly believe that if the offenders could go through the experience the boys in camp did, the tonnage would be cut down materially.

Three summers ago a camp was occupied by some 700 boys — 100 at a time — who were given no special instructions. It was somewhat of an experiment. At the end of the camping season the damages were computed and found to be in excess of \$500, although there was no major destruction of property. (It must be pointed out, however, that the percentage of vandals in this group was considerably higher than average.) The next summer the camp was occupied by average boys who were given some out-of-the-ordinary instruction. They were made responsible for breakages of the unusual type and at the end of the season the damages

consisted largely of windowpanes, door hinges, etc., aggregating less than \$25 for the camp.

I cannot believe camping was made obnoxious and distasteful to the boys of the second group. Rather, I think they developed a fuller appreciation of it and I am sure that they have a more wholesome attitude concerning property that belongs to the people and that was put there for their use.

It is not an uncommon thing for people to think and say that the conservation of our natural resources is a job for conservation departments, law enforcement and regulatory agencies, and for them alone. The number who have this attitude is getting less, but much too slowly. Sometimes I think the check on waste is in proportion to the enhancement of our thinking on this; then, again, I am in doubt. This, however, must be borne in mind: Our greatest progress has been made on the more glaring and conspicuous forms of waste. Forest fires, stinking waters, deep gullies, excessive slaughter of birds and animals — all of these things stand out "like a steer on Fifth Avenue." That they are undesirable, destructive, and downright wrong, is self-evident and needs no proof. Once they are so identified, remedial measures are or can be brought into play with comparative ease.

The greater difficulty lies with the less conspicuous forms of waste. Water that is reasonably clear and that doesn't stink, yet is neither fit to drink, swim in, nor clean enough for fishes, is really difficult to clean up. Soil depreciation because of sheet erosion (when a little topsoil is washed off the slopes and clear across the landscape with each big rain) is appreciated only by the experts and by a comparatively few farmers. To lick it is a long-haul job and it requires straight thinking and the effort of more than just a handful of public officials. The job is big and expensive and it can be done only when a lot of people believe that it can and must be done.

Those of you who have been around camps have seen the

foundations of buildings literally undermined by water and wind erosion. The same thing is going on to a greater or lesser degree on all land not covered with plants of some sort. But children neither see nor know it unless it is called to their attention. Can a more important lesson be taught to the oncoming generation? And is there an easier, more effective way to call it to their attention than to take them to the place where it is happening?

The importance of arresting this "number one" menace to the land can be made more realistic and impressive by a few simple experiments or demonstrations on the land within walking distance of the camp. Plant trees and shrubs in the gullies and they soon grass over. On the top of a slope where the topsoil is pretty much removed (and such slopes are not hard to find) plant some corn. At the same time, in May, plant another strip halfway down the slope, and at the bottom, where the soil keeps piling up, plant an equal area. In the fall, let the children check the results.

Whether they start at the bottom and work up or go from the top down is unimportant but it is important that they get the comparison. From the good soil in the hollow will come big stalks and full ears that can be compared with the stalks and nubbins on the side of the hill and the immature stalks with few or no ears on the top of the slope.

The lesson is there, it has been told, they will not forget it (we hope), and from then on they will appreciate what gullying and the removal of topsoil really mean. If they are told that pork chops and ham are high or low in price, depending on our corn crop (barring support price programs), the lesson is still more meaningful to them.

Water management, except for floods, is another phase of conservation that is difficult to deal with largely because its course is not easily followed by the layman. In connection with this — in fact, with all Nature — is a principle we nearly all know but seldom recall — it is the ever-changing nature of things. Nature, herself, is never static. Land, water, plants, birds, animals, and their relationships, each to

the other, are different each day. To man, the changes, in most instances, are slow — hardly perceptible from day to day — and because of this apparent slowness unusual methods of teaching (establishing concepts and understanding) must be employed — else we perish prematurely.

The recent experience of New York City is an awful price to pay for a lesson in water management. Can a repetition be averted if more people know about water and what happens to it from the time it reaches the earth? More and more we will be confronted with acute water problems. With an ever-increasing demand it cannot be otherwise — unless we foresee the trends and then do something about them in advance of the emergencies.

We have been a prodigiously wasteful people with all of the resources of our land. We have taken and used them with no thought of the future and not much regard for the waste entailed. Even today we are cutting the forests faster than they are being replaced. Wildlife, with all our efforts, is losing ground. The tide of soil depletion has not yet been turned. Underground water tables are being lowered at an alarming rate in certain sections. The whole picture is dark — and unnecessarily so. To be sure, there are many reasons, but to me there is just one — not knowing. It would be heresy to say that the experts and scientists don't know, because they do. But "knowing" is not enough. There must be nation-wide awareness of these things and of their significance. And I am not talking about government policy, resource boards, and planning commissions. These I have seen; they help largely as guideposts and in the supplying of leadership. The big push must come from the 150 million people of our nation, and, if they know and appreciate these things, the push will come.

I believe the most important policy government could establish with respect to resources would be one of acquainting the citizenry with the true significance of our natural resources, then, forthwith and without wavering, to do something to assure their preservation.

Outdoor education through the schools is as yet too new to bring material benefits to our resources. Even the methods of teaching are in the experimental stage. I wonder, sometimes, whether — if children were just taken where the things of Nature are, out beyond the influence of great centers of population, and were given a limited amount of guidance and interpretation — it might not be the best and most effective way of getting into their minds a truer concept and fuller appreciation of the things we live by.

But teaching is not my specialty. Willing or otherwise, I must leave that to the schools; but when we see them build outdoor education (education by taking these children out to where the things are) into the curriculum, we can have renewed hope. Until then, conservation is likely to be an over-worked term with a half-hollow meaning. Technology has pretty well worked out ways and means but their application is slow — too slow.

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SOLVING ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS IN SCHOOL CAMP PROGRAMS

John W. Gilliland

The more realistic schools become in their attempt to equip individuals for life, the more they realize the inadequacy of the school environment. Many limitations imposed by tradition are being removed through revised procedures and methods of instruction. There remains, however, certain limitations of the school environment itself, such as lack of direct contact with nature, and lack of opportunities for certain types of human relationships which are only possible through group living.

Modern educators believe that many of these limitations may be removed by extending education to an out-of-door environment by making camping experiences a part of the regular school curriculum.

One of the important reasons for the delay in more general acceptance of school camping as a part of the regular program of the school is due to the fact that administrators need more information concerning methods of getting a camping program started. Such administrative problems as developing interest, planning a program, selecting a staff, providing for health and safety, and others, are real problems that must be faced by those who are contemplating the accomplishment of a school camping program.

Developing Interest

Before any project or activity may be initiated in a community, there must be sufficient interest on the part of those involved to instigate and carry out the proposed activity. In considering the area of developing interest, it is important to include staff members and laymen as well as school administrators in planning the camp. It is important to make the camp a cooperative community enterprise from the very beginning. It should be kept in mind, however, that school ad-

ministrators should accept the responsibility for developing a camping program as a regular part of the school's curriculum. It would follow then, that the administrator should initiate a type of program whereby the staff and community examine the curriculum and determine those things that can best be taught in an out-of-door environment.

Another important factor for consideration in developing interest is to secure the interest of key people of the community. The support of conservationists, private and agency camp personnel, recreational leaders and others is highly desirable and in practically every case is forthcoming if the proper steps are taken in the beginning to secure their support.

Planning the Program

It does not necessarily follow that due to the fact that boys and girls are taken out of doors that a good camping program is assured. It all depends upon the type of program offered. The program should be based upon the needs and interests of participants. It should provide those educative experiences that are adaptable to a camp environment. Unless the camp curriculum is planned and carried out as a part of the total school curriculum, doing those things in an out-of-door environment that can best be done there, the school camp is not justifiable. There must be more to school camping than merely taking pupils out of doors.

It is well to keep in mind that the year-around camp program is the most desirable. However, this should not exclude the possibility of starting with a part-year camp even though the advantages are greater for a year-around camp. It may not be feasible to start with a year-around camp in every instance. The important thing is to make a beginning with whatever type of camp is possible and feasible, and move toward the year-around program.

There are many departments and agencies that will be able to assist materially in planning a program. Such state and local groups as conservation departments, recreation

departments, park departments, and others should participate in planning the program. These departments can make a contribution and in many instances are anxious for the opportunity.

There is also a place for using resource people such as hobbyists, specialists, and conservationists who are present in every community and can make an important contribution to the camp program. Beyond a doubt, their services should be utilized to the fullest extent. In the final analyses the program should provide opportunities for experiences in: (a) group living; (b) healthful living; (c) recreational living; (d) purposeful work; and (e) developing an understanding of man's relation to environment.

Selecting Staff

It is surprising to find that the matter of selecting a staff is considered as one of the foremost reasons for not initiating or establishing a school camp program. It need not be any more of a problem than the selection of a staff for a regular school, for most people feel that the staff members of the school camp can be selected from the regular teaching staff. Some good teachers make good teacher-counselors and in most instances the staff members are selected from the regular teaching staff. One important consideration to keep in mind, however, is that the salary schedule should be in agreement with and based upon that of the regular teaching staff.

Providing for Health and Safety

One of the concerns of parents when it comes to consideration of the matter of sending their son or daughter to camp is safety. Parents are anxious to participate in this program and they have a right to be concerned about provision for health and safety. In the first place, a registered nurse should be a regular member of the camp staff, and the medical services of a qualified physician should be available at all times. Secondly, adequate provision should be made

for the safety of campers in carrying out the various activities of the school camp program. This would include: (a) regular inspection of camp facilities by a *qualified agency*; (b) physical examinations for food handlers; (c) adequate food storage; (d) well-balanced meals; and (e) provision for healthful living.

Financing the School Camp

If the school camp is to be a regular part of the school program, it should be financed in the main through public taxation. This does not mean, however, that the cost will be as excessive as most people think. It has been found that an adequate camping program may be provided for boys and girls without a great deal of additional expense. It is desirable to have a broad base for support with income being derived from city, county and school departments, with campers paying for transportation to camp and for food consumed at camp.

Developing Leadership

Just as it is necessary to develop a program of in-service training for members of the staff on the regular school faculty, it is also necessary to consider a program for developing leadership for the school camping personnel. A general program of education is the best type of training for teacher-counselors. Though some camp experience is desirable, a good teacher will adjust to camping very quickly. A summer's experience at a leadership training camp, plus a love for the out-of-doors and an understanding of and affection for children are highly desirable.

Interpreting Camp to Community

A program for interpreting the camp to the community is just as essential and desirable as for the regular school program. Interpretation is perhaps more essential due to the fact that the program of the school camp is a frontier in curriculum development. Evidence indicates that the par-

ents are very enthusiastic about the camp program when they understand the purposes and objectives. They are especially enthusiastic after having their children participate in a school camping enterprise. It is well to remember that confidence is gained through cooperation with community agencies and organizations and through pursuing every opportunity to bring about a better understanding of purposes and objectives on the part of the parents and laymen.

Acquiring Camp Site

The site should be selected with a long range plan of development in mind. It should be far enough away from the school that the pupils feel they are really away from home, yet not so far that transportation problems loom too large. The distance from the school plant will vary according to the size of the city and availability of suitable land. The site should not be so rugged that unnecessary hazards to health and safety are presented.

Providing Facilities

Buildings should be planned according to the purposes for which they are to be used. It is well to keep in mind that suitable facilities that may be utilized in getting started on a camping program are available in or near many communities. It is not necessary to provide elaborate facilities before launching a program, for it is possible to provide more elaborate facilities than are necessary. There are many opportunities for building and developing a camping area that students, parents, and pupils may participate in, thus providing a practical learning situation.

Organizing for Administration

In organizing for administration, it is recommended that there should be a combined school camp board composed of city and county authorities, provided it is a city-county project. The board of education should be the controlling agency if it is a project of the local school district. An advisory

board composed of representatives from the various agencies of the community is desirable in most instances.

The program at camp should provide for: (a) camping periods from one to two weeks, a two week period being more desirable than a one week period, (b) a teacher-counselor-camper ratio of not more than one to twelve; (c) participation of boy and girl groups at the same time, and (d) a flexible type of organization, making a decentralized program possible. Persons considering the establishment of a school camp should not be discouraged in the event they feel it is not possible for them to provide for a camping period of two weeks, or a teacher-camper ratio of one to twelve. These are recommendations that would provide for a more ideal situation. Since very few public schools have an ideal situation, it is not to be expected that a camping program will provide everything just as it ought to be at the very beginning. The important factor is to get started on some type of a program utilizing the best type of organization possible.

Providing for Business Management

It is just as necessary to provide for efficient business management for the school camp as it is for the regular school. People have a right to know how their money is being spent. This procedure will develop confidence in the program.

Financial reports for the camp should provide the type of information needed for school accounting procedures. The director should be responsible for adequate financial records.

Meeting Legal Problems

Perhaps there is no other problem confronting the administrator that causes as much delay in initiating a school camp as the problem of legal status. In some states there is a question as to whether or not the school district has the authority to establish a school camping program. In other states the powers to establish a camp are implied in other more general statutes. Some administrators do not feel that

it is safe to go ahead with a program based upon implied powers. In some states, the legal status has been cleared through the enactment of certain laws. Specific legislation has enabled the schools of Michigan to move ahead in the establishing of school camping programs. While it is generally considered a good thing to urge that enabling laws be enacted in those states where there is some question as to legal status, this problem has not seemed great in the minds of some administrators as they have moved ahead with their programs. It is their contention that a school camp merely makes it possible to extend the classroom to the out-of-doors and to utilize a camping environment as a place for boys and girls to learn better those things that can best be taught there.

Summary

The main objective of this discussion has been to contribute to the development of effective planning in establishing a school camping program. Suggestions relating to twelve administrative problems have been given. It is the contention of the writer that none of these problems are unsolvable provided there is a real belief on the part of administrators, teachers, and laymen that herein lies a real opportunity for providing a type of education that has real value for youth. Educators as well as professional and lay organizations have supported the school camping movement as an educationally sound activity. These groups believe that the school camp may be included as an integral part of the school program. This is in keeping with the contention that many skills and attitudes that young people need today cannot be taught indoors. Educators have not claimed that the school camp is a panacea for all the ills of society, but rather that some of the direct experiences needed can best be provided in a school camping environment.

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A CAMP DIRECTOR LOOKS AT HIS PROGRAM

George W. Donaldson

Once in a while, when the campers are asleep and the fire in the cabin fireplace burns low, there comes a time for mental stock-taking — a review of the kind of camp I want to run and a critical look at the one I am running. Long ago I learned that I must not just look at the woods and envision a program of educational camping, it goes much deeper than that. First, I must look at today's children; what they're like and what they need in the way of growing-up in; its strengths and weaknesses when related to wholesome child growth. Then, and only then, can I begin to answer the questions I've posed for myself.

As I look at today's children, getting beneath the surface when I can, I see human young not greatly different in basic urges and drives than the cave man's offspring. They're still active, curious, adventurous, exploring animals. They're still looking for status with their peers and *rapproch* with at least one grown-up. And these very characteristics, because they're vital and impelling, might well become the very life stuff of education outdoors. The children I see, then, have a deep affinity for the kind of learning situations so easy to provide in a camp.

Then I see a society — and a school — which is frustrating many of these urges. The machine age has done many fine things for the growing-up process. But it's not an unmixed blessing. It positively denies much of the viable, down-to-earth reality which was the heritage of youth in the past and for which child nature pleads. Kids are growing up in a world mechanized, sped-up, complicated, specialized, artificial, and restrictive. Much of the good of the machine age isn't necessarily good for youngsters. Camps can, if they will, combine the good of the past with the new knowledge of the machine age. But they must use great care lest they try to do the things which can be done better else-

where, just as, conversely, they must strive to do only those things they're uniquely fitted to do

Now I'm ready to detail the kind of camp I'd like to operate. I like to think of a camp as a children's community; but orphan's homes and reformatories are children's communities, too. So, this community which is an educational camp needs more precise definition. Here are some of its characteristic:

It's a permissive community. It lets children *do* things and on the other hand it does literally nothing *for* them which they can, within the limits of health and safety, do for themselves. One of the really important implications of this idea is that, organizationally, the camp will be diametrically opposed to military organization. There'll be little line-standing and whistle-blowing, for these are symptoms of a community in which one person is doing the thinking and in which the citizens are puppets.

Reality is the camp's forte. This means there'll be no busy work, no fake motives, no arbitrary boss. There'll be real problems, and real solutions — and the campers will have the privilege of dealing with reality. I won't be needing honors, awards, plaques and badges because real interest will supply a sounder and better motivation. Neither will the campers, who don't need whistles, all make gimp whistle cords. Nor ready-made billfolds. Nor plaster casts in store-bought forms.

Camp is a planning community. In camp everybody plans in a fashion approaching that of the town meeting. This children's community will not tolerate that watered-down perversion of cooperative planning which is really camper choice of limited, staff-planned "activities" in which only restricted, individual choice is allowed. Except for basic physical facilities and a few highly essential routines the community will be re-created by each new group of campers.

Camp is a warmly human community. It has no place for the stern, Puritanical adult. Camp counselors, of all educators, are most nearly in *loco parentis*. They should have

the warm, outgoing personalities of the best parents. They should be colorful people, people who thoroughly enjoy children and the outdoors. And not only the professional staff in camp should meet these requirements, camp is no place for a grumpy cook!

It's an experimenting, exploring, discovering, community. Children in camp should have that almost completely lost privilege of finding out for themselves. There won't be many ready-made answers about—and it'll even be possible to make a mistake! Sensory learning — tasting, feeling, hearing, smelling, as well as seeing — will be encouraged and kids will like it. Nature built them that way.

Everyone works in camp. There's always plenty of work when people live together in simple communities and this children's community is one in which work is done by the citizens. This camp subscribes to the notion that no one ever learned the joys of — or the respect for — work by any process other than by one which put some corns on his hands! I know there will be plenty of routine jobs like making beds and sweeping. But I hope there will be some altruistic jobs, too. I'd like these campers to learn the true meaning of that old woodsman's creed, "Always leave some firewood for the next fellow."

They tell me that modern kids are lazy, won't work, and have no respect for work. I know better. Today's kids simply haven't the opportunity to do any meaningful work.

Camp is a boy-girl community. That's the way the world is set up. And any camp which takes seriously its social obligations cannot ignore that principle.

Camp is a simple, child-sized place. Large, highly-organized camps very shortly find themselves spending most of their time contriving "programs" which keep people out of people's way — and they forget why they went to the woods in the first place! Child-sized doesn't mean small in area, though. These active learners need, more than almost anything else, space, space, space.

Camp is a leisurely place. There are not many places left

where children can live at child's pace. Camp can be one of them. And camps will be wise to resist any and every influence to the contrary whether they be bells and bugles, medals and awards, or competitive schemes of motivation.

Camp is a close-to-nature community. One of the modern world's greatest deterrents to wholesome childhood is its removal from the soil. The good camp will exploit its outdoors to the fullest. It will strive to do those things which it is uniquely fitted to do — rural things. This means, too, that it won't take kids out into the woods to hear lectures or play baseball! But I'm hoping the "nature program" will not degenerate into just learning the names of plants and animals. I'd rather see a camper plant one tree — put some of his sweat into rebuilding America's mistreated resources — than see him learn the names of a dozen trees. I believe this generation of campers must solve our conservation problems, or it will be too late. This is the real "guts" of the educational camp's program. Effective resource-use education alone could justify school camps for every child in America!

Camp is fun. Camps are in the unique position, educationally, of not being expected to give even lip service to that profound theory of learning, "It can't be good for you unless it hurts." Fun is Nature's safeguard against ignorance; educators have neglected it long enough. Please don't misunderstand me here. I'm not talking about the kind of exhausting, over-stimulating, leader-inspired hip-hoorah with which some camps are surfeited. I just mean honest-to-goodness, rural fun.

That's the kind of camp I want. But now the fire's burned out. Besides, I've cut out a bigger job for myself in this brief hour than I can do in the next year!

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THE OUTDOOR EDUCATION CURRICULUM AT THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL LEVEL

Denver C. Fox

Outdoor education is often described as an extension of the school program. It might more properly be described as an enrichment of the school program; an enrichment that increases the quality of learning.

Programs of outdoor education take many forms. Some of the more common forms are:

1. Outdoor activities at school
2. Outdoor activities in the neighborhood
3. Field trips
4. Community projects.
5. Day camping during school time
6. Overnight camping.
7. Camping for a longer period in a camp especially designed for camping education.

In each of these types of outdoor education the underlying purpose is to capitalize as fully as possible upon the assets of an environment.

One of the assets of an outdoor environment is that it is rich in opportunities for first hand direct experiences. It invites activity and encourages learning by doing. The outdoor environment encourages a spirit of adventure, of exploration and discovery. It is filled with problems to be solved. It introduces new sensory experiences: fresh smells, strange sounds, interesting sights and deeper feelings. The simplicity of natural surroundings brings clearly into focus many fundamental laws of nature that affect our way of living. The beauty of the outdoors brings an emotional and spiritual lift. In short, the out-of-doors provides a climate in which there is high motivation, purpose and readiness for learning.

There is probably no type of outdoor education that has as great an educational potential as the school camp that is

located in a desirable environment. For not only can the assets of the natural environment be utilized fully, the total environment of the camper can be structured so that his experiences can be planned for the greatest enjoyment and value.

The school camp program is essentially one of providing children with an environment that has been especially selected, planned and controlled for the purpose of meeting and satisfying growth needs of boys and girls.

The characteristics of a school camp can be seen most clearly by considering an actual program in operation. The San Diego City-County Camp program at Camp Cuyamaca is an example of a school camp in which a carefully planned environment has been set up in a desirable natural environment.

Let us consider some of the factors that have been planned as a part of this structured environment. Most important of these are the people at camp. The campers are boys and girls in the sixth grade from different rooms or different schools and sometimes from different towns. They come from all racial, religious and cultural groups; poor, rich, well adjusted, maladjusted. They are the usual run of sixth grade boys and girls because all sixth graders of the school are eligible and are encouraged to come to camp. They are selected from the sixth grade because sixth graders are mature enough to respond to the atmosphere of adventure in such an environment. The sixth grade level was chosen also because in most cases it is the last grade in which the children are together in one class under one teacher.

These children are divided in the cabins so that some children from every school are in each cabin. Thus, each camper is living with some friends and some strangers and the social pattern that existed in the classroom is temporarily broken down. In this way the stage is set to encourage new adjustments with others and the development of a new social pattern within the cabin group under controlled conditions that are designed for a high quality of adjustment and a

desirable pattern of social relationships. Sometimes, because of information supplied early by the school, children who may be too dependent upon each other are separated into different cabins. Many other arrangements are made to set up as desirable a combination of campers in the same cabin as possible.

Other people who are important in the camp living situation are the camp counselors. In them the camper finds a group of adults who understand children, are sympathetic and consistent not only with themselves but with other counselors. The camper finds friendship and security in being assisted by the counselors regardless of past record. The camp staff is a very important factor of the environment for it is these skilled teacher-counselors who open the way to an exciting new world to explore.

Particularly important are those members of the staff who come up to camp just for the week; the classroom teachers. The classroom teacher is the important link between the camp and the school. She is the key person in integrating the values of the camp with the program at school.

Other people are important because they are not at camp. mother, dad, brother and sister. It develops self realization and self dependence to be able to be away from family ties for a short while. At camp for one week the camper lives with other campers of similar maturity, interests and abilities and learns that he is not so different from other children. And although boys and girls live in separate cabins there are plenty of opportunities for them to work and play together in wholesome, controlled situations that build desirable attitudes and increased understandings of one sex toward the other.

But it is not enough to take a child from one environment and put him in another. Plans must be made for the maximum use of the assets of the environment so as to promote desirable growth in attitudes, learnings and practices in mental and physical health, self realization and in human relationships. These plans constitute the curriculum of the

camp program. It is a curriculum of action: working, playing, exploring, discovering, creating, conserving, sharing, investigating and evaluating. It is centered in child purposes, needs and interests. It includes experiences of many types; new and different experiences that broaden the horizon and stimulate new interests. It is close to the immediate environment—it is here and now. The curriculum includes experiences that are well integrated, cutting across many subject areas. Woven into the fabric living at camp must be threads that appear now in this pattern and again in another in varying relationships with many other threads. Some of these threads that must be planned for in the curriculum are: orientation, health, spiritual needs, recreation, self-expression, purposeful work and democratic practices.

In this curriculum boys and girls study new and different books. The books are: the hills, the valleys, the rivers, the heavens, the plants and animals and the camper group.

The chapters of the book are: the rocks, trees, flowers, birds, deer, beaver and fellow campers.

The activities are: hiking, conserving soil, building dams, constructing bridges, planting trees, tracking animals, preparing and cooking meals over the open fire, tobogganing, sharing experiences around the campfire, weaving, carving in rock and wood, singing and dancing.

The materials used are the materials of the environment: clay dug from the old Indian claybank; soapstone discovered after prospecting where the map indicated it might be found; rocks and minerals from Rock Canyon; manzanita and wild lilac wrested from the chaparral covered hills; pine cones, bark, lichen, seed pods, incense cedar and pine all brought from a morning's excursion to be used in creative work and expression later in the day.

The tools are simple hand tools of the woodsman and craftsman: knives, axes, shovels, saws, files, chisels, hammers, drills, glue and sandpaper.

The equipment is that of the discoverer: maps, compasses, telescopes, binoculars, microscopes and magnets.

The methods are those of the scientist: exploring, discovering, collecting, recognizing problems, planning, co-operating, proposing, testing, investigating and evaluating.

In this classroom that has no walls, using the above means and methods, a vital program of living together shapes a purposeful experience curriculum.

But what can we expect to accomplish in only five days at camp? In spite of careful planning for every minute of each of the twenty-four hours in the continuous five day encampment, the problem of a short time limit remains a serious one. Perhaps the best answer to this problem is to remove the time limit. If the values of the camping experience do not end with the return of the campers to school; if they are somehow woven into the school program, we may be able to remove or at least extend the period in which the values of outdoor living are effective.

What are some of the ways in which the camping experience can be used to enrich the regular school program? How can the quality of learning be increased in arithmetic, language arts, reading, geography, history, arts and crafts, music, physical education, health, science and social studies?

These questions are being answered in San Diego through the combined efforts of the Camp Steering Committee, the camp staff and all of the sixth grade teachers who come to camp. The teachers have entered into a plan of pooling ideas and experiences so that each may share in the thinking of all.

The sixth grade teacher is the key figure in the process of integrating the values of the camp program with the classroom program. She knows the needs of her group. While observing and sharing experiences with her pupils at camp, she is able to plan ways of using the values of camping to satisfy some of these needs.

One of the most important of these values is the increased understanding that results when the teacher is able to shed the responsibility for maintaining discipline and controlling the learning situation in the classroom and become another

camper, sharing experiences with the children. The children, who tend to stereotype teachers as teachers have a chance to see what a regular fellow and good sport their teacher really is. The teacher has a chance to see Johnny and Mary in action outside the classroom, on the trail, doing dishes, at campfire and going to bed. Billy, who has difficulty in achieving recognition in class because his reading is retarded, blossoms and glows with satisfaction as his fellow campers praise his hiking ability or skill in animal tracking.

Another important value that can be capitalized upon is the increased motivation, and understanding that results from direct experiences that have been shared by members of the class. This motivation and understanding are still potent factors in the classroom when all-day hikes and explorations are being charted on contour maps of the area. Many interesting problems based upon experiences can be developed by teacher and pupils together as they consider differences in elevation, distances traveled on hikes, cost of food used on cookouts, etc.

Each week new ideas are being sent to the camp director by teachers who are experimenting with new ways of using the camp experience to further their classroom programs. These ideas are being compiled and organized so that they can be readily used to integrate the camp curriculum with the school program.

In the future school camping and outdoor education will be evaluated largely on the basis of the contribution it makes to the total school program.

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THE OUTDOOR EDUCATION CURRICULUM AT THE SECONDARY SCHOOL LEVEL

Barbara Holland and James Lewis

This is a story about Dearborn's boys and girls working with their teachers, learning and playing together as a big family at Cedar Lake Group Camp, Waterloo, Michigan, during all seasons of the school year.

"Youth are on the March." For one week, campers and teachers are actively engaged in a program filled with experiences stressing "doing." Game and forestry management, soil and fish conservation, riflery and trapping, and many other outdoor activities become the course of study for all camp groups and all grade levels.

The most important job at home before a group goes to camp is pre-planning. Topics like daily camp schedules, equipment and clothing needed, and camp costs are all necessary discussion and committee projects. The boys and girls, the home room teacher, and the parents are all interested in good preparation. Visits to the camp before a group goes, seeing slide pictures and photographic stills are a few methods used in pre-planning sessions.

Words like responsibility, dependability, cooperation, choice, democracy in living, group planning are all tangible and have a real "packed with a wallop" meaning at camp.

One of the first real jobs in camp is organizing into groups of approximately fifteen boys and girls with a counselor. Secondly, is planning and hearing everyone's desires so that the best possible program can be had for the group. Next is presenting the program of each group to a representative camp council, which serves as the governing body at camp. Decisions concerning special ideas and plans are discussed seriously by the council and final camp programs are arranged by this group.

Real challenges present themselves to groups when they begin to plan for cook-outs and begin to decide whether they

will take the north or south trail leading away from camp for their exploration hikes. Exclusive to their surroundings is an opportunity to live together, learning to respect other individual thoughts and ideas.

Probably the unique benefits of camping occur when groups begin to eat and play together.

Certain duties and jobs are necessary for each meal. Deciding who will sweep the floor or stack the dishes or sterilize the silverware, are individual responsibilities as well as the groups'. To see that whatever is started is completed leads to good work habits.

Being a host or hostess, inviting and introducing guests at table, lend a family atmosphere at mealtime. Manners and etiquette are meaningful attitudes at camp and become a natural part of the daily living. This doesn't just happen because counselors and staff want it. Boys and girls eating at the same table; being responsible for setting and clearing it or acting as host and hostess, serving food or creating conversation are all part of the learning situations during a pleasant mealtime at camp.

Evening social recreation and snack time are successful when groups organize and work toward making them so. Camp fires, song fests, movies, social dancing, amateur shows, games, early American dancing and other recreational stunts are common selections of activities made by campers.

Teachers become more human and youth's inner problems present themselves in a different light. The contours of the land, the several kinds of soil, small mouth and large mouth boss cooking with aluminum pails, planting trees and providing game shelter, are all topics that come out in evaluation periods during the camp day. Solvable products of a vast and powerful experience — school camping for youth — for all youth. Their land — a free land and carries with it learning and responsibility.

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LEADERSHIP FOR OUTDOOR EDUCATION

Milton A. Gabrielsen

The extent to which the objectives of any school camping or outdoor education program is accomplished will undoubtedly depend more upon the leadership given to it than any other single factor. The leadership requirements for camping are quite different from those of classroom teaching. Even though a high correlation between successful teaching and successful camp leadership may exist, there is no guarantee that the so called "good" teacher will also be an effective leader in a camp situation. Unquestionably, "personality" is the key factor; the one basic fundamental to successful camp leadership. Knowledge of the out-of-doors and skills in camp crafts or other specialties are important, but must only be considered after the more influential trait "personality."

The purpose of all leadership, regardless of the setting, should be centered around helping others to help themselves. To accomplish this a knowledge of people and their behavior is essential. Thus it becomes important for the camp leader to understand the attitudes and behavior patterns of the age group with which he is working, while at the same time always attempting to provide opportunities for social experiences that will be worthwhile and meaningful to the campers.

The many learning situations which are provided children through outdoor excursions, day camps or longer school term camps, are challenging, exciting, and in most instances much more satisfying than the routine of the classroom. When these elements are present learning will be rapid, meaningful and lasting. In the final analysis it is the ability of the leader to recognize and make the most of the many "teachable moments" that occur at camp that determines how effective the leader will be with children.

Types of Leadership Desirable for School Camps

I have indicated that leadership for the school camp calls for a certain type of person. However, it should be recognized that personnel for camping falls into several different categories based primarily on the functions they perform. This suggests the need for certain special qualifications and perhaps training. Camp positions will vary in name and number at different camps but ostensibly they will fall into the following general categories:

Advisory: School Board, Camp Committee, Superintendent

Administrative: Camp Director, Program Coordinator

Maintenance: Caretaker, Ground Keepers (if required)

Kitchen: Dietician, Head Cook, Assistants, Dishwashers

Medical: Doctor, Nurse

Activity Specialist: Sports, Aquatics, Nature, Crafts

Group Leaders: Counselors, Assistant Counselors

When school administrators are confronted with this array of personnel needed for the operation of a school camp they often give up the idea of running a camp. However, it has been demonstrated that it is possible to obtain all the personnel necessary to run a school camp from the teaching and administrative staff of any school system. Some of the staff undoubtedly will need special training, but many teachers already possess the skills and knowledges which will enable them to be effective leaders in camp. Let us look at the camp staff and see what some of the special requirements are and who on the average school faculty would most likely meet the requirements for the positions outlined above.

THE CAMP DIRECTOR

Here is the person who is the key to the success of the camp. It can be any person on the faculty, man or woman, who understands the philosophy underlying outdoor education and who possesses exceptional administrative ability.

This person is directly responsible for the operation of the camp, the buying of food, the selection, training and supervision of personnel and the general safety and health of the campers. He should possess a dynamic personality, and real understanding of people.

THE PROGRAM COORDINATOR

The nature of the camp program and the method of conduct will largely determine the qualifications needed for this position. If the camp operates on the so-called "centralized plan" the person will need to be well versed in program planning and general administration. However, if the camp operates on the "decentralized," small group plan, this person will need to be more of a social recreation person, one who has the ability to conduct special programs such as group singing and camp fires. In addition, he must be able to provide source material and opportunities for satisfying the interest of the groups, thereby helping them to conduct their own programs. This person in a sense is the "spark plug" of the camp; he stimulates and motivates the groups to do many different things on their own.

THE CARETAKER

If the camp property is owned by the school system, it will probably be necessary to provide a year-round caretaker, or at least one during the season of operation. He will be responsible for the general maintenance of the camp, water supply, garbage and sewage disposal and general upkeep of equipment and facilities. He can also assist in many aspects of the program. If the caretaker is employed during the summer season only, it is quite possible that one of the members of the faculty of the industrial arts department can be assigned this responsibility. If the camp is large and consists of a number of buildings, the caretaker will undoubtedly need several assistants who will have as their primary responsibility the maintenance of the grounds.

THE DIETICIAN

This could readily be the home economics teacher. However, in many instances the responsibility for planning menus falls on the camp director, who usually consults with his staff and the campers in planning the meals. Food contributes immensely to the success of the camp. In several school camps the campers plan and cook their own meals at least part of the time. This is recommended since it affords an opportunity for real learning in the planning and preparation of food. Here the dietician can be very helpful.

THE COOK

In all probability it will be necessary to hire a qualified chef from the outside to head up the kitchen staff. This is particularly true if the camp plans to feed large groups at one time. This person should be an expert in planning and purchasing. He must be congenial and have sufficient patience to work with the campers in providing food for their meals both in the dining hall and on their trips. He may require assistance from a baker, salad maker, and dish washers, unless of course the dishes are to be washed by the campers.

THE DOCTOR

It is not essential that a doctor be in attendance at all times, however, it is imperative that some arrangements be made with a local doctor or hospital to handle emergencies which may arise. The doctor also should assume the responsibility for periodic inspection of the camp to check the general sanitation of the camp and give medical examination if necessary. In many instances the local public health department is willing to provide the necessary medical services.

THE NURSE

It is quite important to have a nurse on the camp staff.

She should be in charge of the infirmary, if the camp has one, and carry out orders of the doctor. It is not uncommon to find that the camp nurse is also one of the school nurses.

THE SPECIALISTS

Every camp will require the services of certain program specialists. Many of these positions can be filled by members of the school faculty. The special areas which usually require a person for supervision and instruction are: sports, aquatics, nature and crafts. In some instances these are combined. For example, the same person may be in charge of sports and aquatics. The most logical school personnel to fill these positions are the physical education teachers, the science teacher and industrial arts teacher.

GROUP LEADERS

The counselors who are directly responsible for groups of students will, to a large extent, be the main cogs of the staff. It is most desirable to have these people come right from the school faculty. As a matter of fact, they should be the same teachers who work with the students at school. If a classroom teacher goes with her class of twenty or thirty students to the camp, it will be necessary to provide this teacher with some assistants. The two best sources are: (1) college students who are in training for the teaching profession, and (2) senior high school students who have demonstrated outstanding leadership ability. In the event that the camp is for high school students the assistant counselors will in all probability have to be college students.

RESOURCE PEOPLE

A number of people from the local community and state departments can be called in for special demonstrations from time to time. For instance, there may be a person who is very well versed in the history of the surrounding area, or another person who is an expert in certain types of native flowers and plants, or someone from the State Conservation

Department who can discuss with the campers the problem of conservation and the methods by which the natural resources can be preserved

Training the Staff

It has been indicated that some training of the camp staff is desirable. There are several ways that the camp staff can be trained. The responsibility for some of the training will fall on the camp director, or a committee established for this purpose. Other training will be a responsibility of colleges and universities. Here are several different methods by which staff may be trained:

GRADUATE STUDY

A number of colleges and universities offer graduate courses in camp administration and other phases of camping. One school, New York University, has a complete master's and doctor's degree program in camp administration.

Several colleges and universities offer short courses for special training in school camping. The National Camps, operated by Outdoor - Education, Incorporated, which is under the direction of Dr. L. B. Sharp, provides special training in programming and administration of school camps each summer. This is a six weeks' course which grants college credit.

INSTITUTES

One of the best ways of training the camp staff is for the local school system to conduct either long or short term institutes, especially for those who will assume the responsibility of camp leadership. These can be conducted as a pre-service training course or as an in-service program. The institute provides an opportunity for the camp director to work on plans with his staff for the camp season as well as an opportunity for the staff to acquire new skills and

knowledges pertaining to camping. The school system that adopts such an institute can bring in lecturers from universities, local and state agencies to handle special topics.

The major areas that should be covered in any training course for school camping are:

- Philosophy of Outdoor Education
- Integration with School Program
- Methods of Leadership in the Outdoors (democratic vs autocratic)
- Community and State Cooperation
- The Program Potentials (conservation, recreation, work experience, etc.)
- Skills in Camp Crafts (outdoor living, cooking, fishing, nature, etc.)
- Health and Safety (sanitation, fire prevention, poison plants, etc.)
- Social Living and the Group Process

If possible, a portion of the institute should be conducted at the camp site. This affords an opportunity for direct experiences for the staff.

It will pay great dividends to consider carefully the problem of leadership for outdoor education. Only in this way will the potentialities inherent in school camping be realized.

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COOPERATIVE ASPECTS OF SCHOOL CAMPING

Arthur W. Selverstone

School camping, like the automobile, is here to stay. And like the automobile, the future will see a growth in number of school camps of varying shapes, sizes and design. But inherent in every camp always will be the unparalleled opportunity for social living and human relations.

There is no denying the fact that the school camp affords a most meaningful laboratory for direct learning experiences. Unfortunately, in an effort to overcome possible resistance to a school-camp program and to promote support for it, sometimes a greater emphasis is placed on the "learning" aspects of the program than on other potential values. However, no self-respecting educator can under-rate the possibilities that can stem from intimate group living in the camp environment. This in no way minimizes the contribution that school camps can make, formally or informally, to the 3 R's. It does mean, however, that there are other values, perhaps of a more intangible nature, to be gained from the school camp. Certainly learning to live, to plan, to work and to play together are such values.

These learnings are not achieved merely by placing a group of people in the camp situation any more than a person can learn to swim by sitting on the edge of a beach or pool. Effort, instruction and guidance are the prerequisites of accomplishment.

Let us assume, however, that thousands of youngsters in school camps, under able leadership, will be gaining the insights necessary for cooperative, democratic group living. Are such experiences and insights necessary for cooperative, democratic group living of value only to children and young adults? Isn't it obligatory for the adults of every American village, town, or city to be practicing examples of true communal, cooperative planning and living? Must we not establish a working pattern of such action into which

our newly trained school children can fit and take their places?

As enriching as camp life and outdoor education may be for the school children they are not the sole beneficiaries of the program. The very fact that a school has, or contemplates having, a camp may very well be the catalyst for community cooperation. The camp's existence can serve as the focal point of joint activity for various individuals, groups or agencies which, under ordinary circumstances, might be "rugged individualists." If this cooperative venture proves to be worthwhile and satisfying, as it should with careful planning and skillful direction, it is not too far fetched to envision the same groups cooperating on other civic projects.

The number of individuals or groups who might make school camping a civic enterprise is considerable. The same holds true for the areas in which team work is possible. Let us examine these.

Joint Operation

It is not always necessary, and in some cases not even feasible, for one school or town to carry the full load of a school-camp program. Thus it might be advisable for several schools, or several school districts to combine in a joint project as was done in Calhoun County, Michigan, and Pillar Rock County, Washington. Colleges conducting camps for their own students and faculty may direct such camps for the benefit of schools.

A camp board or commission could be established to run camps. The City and County of San Diego, California, have such a commission with representatives from the city and county governments, city and country schools, as well as parent-teacher organizations.

A school board and a charitable foundation sponsor school camping in Dowagiac, Michigan. In Long Beach, California, a camp is owned by the city but operated by the Board of Education.

Site Location

In our planning for school camps we should keep our aim directed toward the acquisition of a camp site that offers the widest possible use. It must be extensive enough to accommodate the total population for whom it is intended. It must be removed from city limits and still not be too far so as to make transportation a chore or a financial burden. It must possess the woods, lakes, streams and natural surroundings which offer the maximum for adventure and learning. The geology and topography should provide interesting study and yet permit for the construction of necessary buildings and facilities as well as health and sanitation installations. In suggesting or evaluating a possible camp site, many agencies will have the opportunity to cooperate. Colleges of forestry, departments of agriculture, conservation, parks, health, on federal, state, county and municipal levels might serve as resources for advice and information.

Thus, when the Plattsburgh State Teachers College became interested in camping education and had located a camp site, the New York State College of Forestry on request sent experts to survey and evaluate the proposed site. The report indicated: (1) the nature of water supply and its possible use for swimming, (2) topography which afforded opportunities for winter sports; (3) forest cover and its use for indigenous craft activities, and (4) accessibility. The departments of agriculture could determine the feasibility of farm projects in a contemplated area. The departments of health could investigate a proposed site from the standpoint of safe water supply, waste disposal, insect control and other safety and sanitary considerations.

Site Purchasing

The fear of large financial expenditures for the purchase of a camp site has as much to do with the hesitancy of schools to inaugurate school camp programs as much as any other single factor. This understandable fear is not always justifiable.

Aside from outright purchase, it is often possible to acquire lands by gift, loan or lease from the state or governmental agencies. Park, recreation, conservation and forest departments may own or direct camps which might be utilized by schools. Thus we see old C C C. camps being taken over by Iron County, Michigan and San Diego City and County. Some schools in Allegan, Michigan are using state lands under the jurisdiction of the Conservation Department. A California State park is the site of San Diego, California's Camp Cuyamaca. Upper Peninsula, Michigan, has a camp in a national forest.

A parent-teacher association of Ann Arbor, Michigan, joined with other community clubs to purchase a camp for the Tappan Junior High School. A public-spirited citizen gave land for a camp in Catskill, New York. The Lions Club and other individuals purchased a camp site for schools in St. Charles, Michigan.

Foundations may be encouraged to make contributions to the camping program. Thus, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation partially subsidizes the Clear Lake Camp in Michigan and leases the St. Mary's Lake Camp to a camp board of Calhoun County, Michigan. The Mott Foundation has provided a camp for Flint, Michigan and a foundation supplied the funds for the camp in Tyler, Texas. Community chests may also play a part as they do in Michigan's Clear Lake Camp.

Private camps and community agency camps have been utilized. College camps, such as those of Western Michigan College of Education in Kalamazoo, George Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee, and North Idaho College of Education in Idaho are being used for school children.

Cleveland Heights, Ohio has borrowed an agency camp, while a boy scout camp is being used at Niles, Michigan. Youth serving agencies are other sources which can be approached for part time use of their camps.

The camp need not, and perhaps should not, be fully built and equipped at the outset. The children can do a

great amount of this necessary work and profit therefrom not only in skills and knowledges but also in the development of a concept of community service.

Program

In the development of an outdoor education program the departments of education, conservation and recreation have the opportunity of doing joint planning of a broad and comprehensive nature. Not to be overlooked, however, are the contributions that can be made by the teachers and students.

Staff

The teachers of the school should play a most important part in the life of the school camp. They have the chance not only to teach in a most effective learning environment, but also they are in the priceless position of living with their students and getting to know them in and under different conditions. In turn, the students might well probe and find that their teachers are people; real and human.

The infinite program possibilities which exist in the school camp may necessitate supplementing the teachers' knowledges and skills with other resource people. Thus there will be places for specialists and leaders in wildlife, game and fish, forestry, parks, education, recreation, fire fighting, first aid, soil conservation, agriculture, and health. Sporting groups, parents, voluntary agencies, and others could also be used to advantage in the program.

Financing the Project

Under site purchase we indicated some of the ways which could be used to acquire the land. There are other financial problems involved in the operation of the school-camp project. These might include the costs of food, transportation, and clothing. Since the entire project is one of education, sponsored by boards of education, all of the expense incident to the camp's operation should be borne

by the school in the same way that its other activities are subsidized. That, however, may not be possible initially.

Thus, parents, could pay for the food, on the basis that they would be doing so for the children while at home. Transportation costs would not be too great. However, should any parent be unable to pay those costs or supply the necessary clothing, social welfare agencies or community funds could be asked to provide therefor. More than this, the children, parents, and community could participate in cooperative fund raising functions throughout the year with the specific purpose of devoting such funds to those children who need financial assistance.

Interpretation of the Program

To secure community support for the program it will be necessary to have it interpreted to the people.

The parent-teacher associations can play a big part in this area. Some of their meetings might well be devoted to discussions and the showing of such films as *Life Camps'* "School Time in Camp" to orient and educate the parents in the implications of the program. Parents should be permitted and encouraged to visit the camps, at suitable times, and see the program in operation. Good programs would make converts of some parents and missionaries of others.

The school and town newspapers could feature articles about and from camp. Films taken at camp and shown at community group meetings would be most valuable. The radio could include camp features. Faculty members could speak to service clubs, men's and women's clubs and church groups.

Community Use of the Camp

Just as the school should be the hub around which community life takes place day and night for children and adults, in a comparable way might the school camp be used

Some of the greatest social gains in community living could come from the use of the camp by groups of adults

and their families. Obviously such use could occur at times when the camp was not being used by the school.

The use of the camp, its grounds and facilities by parents and their families then makes the entire program one of vital concern to them—not only the school authorities. It develops a feeling of "it's ours," as contrasted with a feeling of "it's theirs." Wherever we look we see widespread cooperation on the part of individuals and groups. This makes for a greater appreciation of the possibilities and values which are inherent in the program. Only through such understanding can the program prosper and flourish. Only through cooperative, communal effort can we achieve an appreciation and recognition of the worth and dignity of individuals. Only through such appreciation can we foresee a dissipation of ignorance, bias, and hostility with respect to minority groups and peoples. Yes, the school camp should be a cooperative enterprise.

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THE PALISADES INTERSTATE PARK

A. K. Morgan

Solid Dutch burghers and the worthy citizens who followed them on the island of Manhattan had been accustomed to the sight of the great columns of basalt rising in a majestic palisade on the west bank of the Hudson River. Late in the 1800's, New Yorkers and others who loved the Palisades became aware that this geological phenomenon and historical landmark was threatened with destruction by quarrymen blasting for trap rock. Many plans were advanced for the preservation of the cliffs and finally the State of New Jersey appointed a Commission to make recommendations to save the Palisades from further defacement. Similar action was taken by New York State and in 1900, a permanent organization was formed, under the name of the Commissioners of the Palisades Interstate Park, with jurisdiction in both New York and New Jersey and with power to acquire whatever territory was deemed necessary along the Palisades; the authorization of this body being extended later to cover the acquisition of land to the northward. Subsequently, in 1937, the Palisades Interstate Park Commission was established by compact between the States of New York and New Jersey, ratified by an Act of Congress and approved by the President of the United States.

That, in brief, is the organizational history of the Palisades Interstate Park, one of the earliest laboratories for the teaching and application of outdoor education which now, 50 years after its beginning, continues to tell the conservation story and serve the recreation needs of thousands of metropolitan dwellers.

The Palisades Section is but one of the 10 Park areas under the jurisdiction of the Palisades Interstate Park Commission, which stretch along the west bank of the Hudson from the Palisades northward to Hook Mountain and

past Bear Mountain to where Storm King Mountain broods over the Hudson. All of this territory, now covering some 48,000 acres in New York and New Jersey, has been acquired through generous gifts of land and money from private individuals and by grants from both States.

The growth of the Park has been guided by the Commissioners, who are private citizens serving without pay. Much of the Park's early development and its unique character were influenced by the wisdom and skill of the late Major William A. Welch who, as head of the salaried staff, served the Park as General Manager and Chief Engineer from 1912 to 1940, when he was succeeded by the present General Manager and Chief Engineer, A. K. Morgan, under whose supervision the Park continues its expansion and services.

Major Welch, who was the first president of the National Conference of State Parks, viewed the forest reservations of the nation as more than a way of meeting the recreational needs of the public. He saw them as a means of preserving for the public's inspiration great tracts of land which, in the retention of the physical attributes they had when they confronted and challenged the early settlers, would give to their descendants an understanding of their forefathers' struggles and the degree to which the land contributed to the development of the American character. Major Welch, the son of one of Morgan's Raiders, was born in Kentucky and brought to Park work the lore of the Kentucky Scouts and a great love of the outdoors, coupled with wide professional experience gained as an engineer in Alaska, Mexico and the Western States.

Those who have scanned the wide places habitually see objects of the terrain as parts of a panoramic whole. The founders of the Park had such an embracing philosophy for its development. To them, the wide use of this area was not inconsistent with their passion for its preservation. Here, 45 miles from a teeming metropolitan area, was a place to which urban dwellers could come for recreation, study and adventure. Large areas of woodland had been burned or cut

over in the years when charcoal was being made to smelt the iron taken from neighboring hills until more easily mined deposits were found in the Great Lakes region. The denuded areas were reforested; lakes were created, scenic drives laid out; trails blazed; recreation and camping areas developed and Revolutionary landmarks restored. What structures were raised, through artistic use of materials and placement, never seemed imposed upon the background but rather to be a part of it. Not only humans took to the woods, but deer, beaver and other wood-folk sensed that here was a refuge and returned to its cover for shelter.

A very important part of the dream of the founders of the Park was for camps where children who might otherwise not have an opportunity to know country life would, under trained leadership, learn skills enjoyed by their country cousins, become aware of Nature's wonders and beauty; develop a measure of the self-reliance of the pioneers who broke the wilderness and, in community living, move toward happy adulthood by learning how to live with others. There are now 70 such camps accommodating as many as 7,000 children and adults at one time. So that the camps might serve those most in need of the camping experience, and as many of them as possible, the sites are rented only to non-profit organizations such as churches, settlement houses, charity organizations, Scouts and Y's. The Park, in addition to its educational program, safeguards health through operation of water, sewage and garbage disposal systems. Organizations engage their own personnel to teach swimming, crafts, dramatics, pioneering and allied skills while the Park, through its 5 regional museums, teaches conservation; Camp Department personnel trained in waterfront and pioneering activities are equipped to advise on programs, and leaders in the camping field are brought to a spring conference and seasonal meetings to speak to administrative heads of Park camps.

Camps are but one feature of the many recreational facilities offered by the Park, which is a great natural play-

ground for people of all ages. The Bear Mountain Park and adjoining Harriman State Park attract the greatest attendance. A sail on the Hudson is a "must" for visitors to New York and they, along with thousands of residents, make the trip to Bear Mountain on the excursion boats; business houses charter steamers for employee outings, and hundreds of other visitors come by car. Bear Mountain Inn has overnight accommodations and its cafeteria, dining room and food stands are equipped to supplement the picnic hamper. A swimming pool, rowboats and athletic fields are available for the energetic, while a nature trail beckons to the nature lover, and the Trailside Museums offer interesting and instructive exhibits which include live specimens of the native flora and fauna. In the interior of the Park are a roller skating rink, tenting areas for those who wish to sleep out under the stars, lakes open to fishermen, a bathing beach and more picnic spots. All of the other Park sections have parking areas and picnic groves with fireplaces, and at Tallman Mountain Park there is also a swimming pool set on a plateau which overlooks the Hudson at its widest part—the Tappan Zee area made famous in legend by Washington Irving.

The vision of the Park's future embraced intensive as well as extensive use of its facilities and each season has its sports and devotees, many of them "repeaters." Canoe regattas, archery and ski tournaments have stimulated interest and participation of city dwellers in these activities. At all seasons hikers are on the trails. Fall brings auto parties and picnickers to enjoy the flaming foliage and Winter draws out a hardy race of winter sports' enthusiasts. Then it is that lakes offer skating surfaces with which no artificial rink can compete; toboggans race down a frozen hillside, a 50 meter ski hill at Bear Mountain is the scene of tournaments which attract thousands to day and night jumps in which ski experts compete, while open slopes and cross-country trails at Bear Mountain and Old Silver Mine Ski Center offer an inducement to the novice and intermediate groups to perfect their skill.

The original planners did not leave a rigid blueprint but rather one that allowed for expansion to meet needs which developed with the passage of the years. Highway improvements shortening traveling time and distance from the city and increased numbers of cars on the roads have created a demand for more facilities. Plans have been prepared and approved for a new Palisades Interstate Parkway to extend from the New Jersey end of the George Washington Bridge to the Park, for more parking areas, bathing beaches and picnic groves, as well as a rehabilitation plan for the group camps. Meanwhile, in the past few years, a new lake has been completed and will in time offer facilities to individuals wishing to camp out under canvas; a program of fish management is well under way, and a Junior Rangers' project, administered by Park rangers, teaches youngsters arriving "on their own" to camp with safety and comfort at the same time helping to insure the safety of the woodlands.

It is estimated that in a single year the Park is visited by some 10,000 hikers, 30,000 different campers in the group camps, each staying two weeks or longer, more than 300,000 persons come by steamer and another 3,000,000 by car, bus and train.

Just as the results of the educators' efforts cannot be determined quantitatively, so the influence of the Park's program of outdoor education cannot be measured adequately in terms of statistics. The greatest influence of the Park may be in the realm of the intangibles. Many in the armed forces returned from the theatres of war to testify that the self-reliance and skills taught them in camp contributed to their survival; conservation lessons bear fruit in a lowered record of vandalism to shrubs and flowers and, it is hoped, in greater respect for private property. To the initiate, field and sky and stream offer delights which ask no admission price or age qualification to the enjoyment of their ever-changing spectacles and, at a time when A and H-bomb threats make tensions run high, hundreds can flock to these

wilderness parks, not in a negative gesture of escape, but in the attitude of strength of the Psalmist who sang, "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help."

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BOOK REVIEWS

Social Studies Instruction By Maurice P. Moffatt Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950. Approx. 576 pp.

SOCIAL STUDIES INSTRUCTION is a very practical guide for teachers who are interested in "down to the earth" materials and methods. All theories are illustrated with concrete examples showing how they apply, and every phase of social studies is treated in the light of modern trends and thinking. The text surveys the relation of the social studies to the social sciences, and new approaches to social studies materials are treated in the light of modern teaching procedures. The basic areas of geography, history, sociology, etc., are surveyed in graphic style. How to analyze current events and use audio visual aids comes in for treatment. Additional helpful material includes chapters on evaluation, the library, planning the organization of materials and supervision.

Dr. Moffatt's text will, undoubtedly, find a place almost as a handbook on the alert social studies teacher's desk.

One has the impression in reading the text that he is following the steps of a master teacher who has written from the background of his extensive experience in teaching supervision. The text should have a wide range of usefulness.

Dan W. Dodson

Hebrew Language Literature and Culture in American Institutions of Higher Learning, by Abraham I. Katsh. New York, New York: Payne Educational Sociology Foundation. 1950. 91 pages.

Professor Katsh traces the status of the Hebrew language as a subject for study from earliest times in American education and finds that its prestige, perhaps, exceeded that of Greek and Latin in the early institutions of higher learning. The decline of Hebrew as a language was not paralleled, however, by a comparable decline of Hebrew literature and culture.

The present study analyzes the returns from 1024 schools and colleges in America and finds that the acceptance of Hebrew as a language is again on the rise and that many more institutions would accept the language as college entrance requirement, if presented. A very useful part of the study is twenty-one pages listing the 1024 schools, together with their responses to the questionnaire regarding language requirements.

Students will find this a useful compendium of reliable data. It will make a useful base line from which to measure the growing impingement of the new state of Israel in American life as reflected by the recognition of Hebrew in American institutions of higher learning.

Dan W. Dodson

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